

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Lisbon stalls on independence

Strikes, protests in African colonies

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

MOHAWK JOURNALIST CONVICTED IN DRAFT CASE: Kanatakeniate, a 27-year-old Mohawk writer, is awaiting sentencing after losing an antidraft case in New York. He had refused the draft on the basis that it violated his traditional Mohawk religious beliefs and his legal status as a Mohawk citizen.

Kanatakeniate is associate editor of *Akwesasne Notes*, published in Rooseveltown, N.Y. Kanatakeniate is also the current president of the American Indian Press Association, a nationwide alliance of Native American editors and journalists.

RIVERSIDE MARCH DEMANDS END TO FRAME-UP OF LAWTON AND GARDNER: Protesting the third frame-up trial of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner, 100 people assembled at the Riverside County Courthouse May 19.

Two previous trials have ended in hung juries. Lawton and Gardner are charged with the murder of two Riverside, Calif., cops in August 1971.

The demonstration, which was sponsored by the Riverside Political Prisoners Defense Committee, marched from



Militant/Guy Gilbert

March against third frame-up of Gary Lawton and Zurebu Gardner.

the courthouse through the Black community to Bordell Park, where a rally was held.

Speakers at the rally included Gardner, Lawton, their attorney Skip Glenn, and Omari Musa, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from the 28th C. D.

The third trial, scheduled to begin on May 20, has been postponed until June 17. A protest rally is planned for the opening of the trial.

WOMAN FIRED FOR BEING 'TOO PRETTY': Peggy Hughes, who worked in the shipping department of an International Harvester Company plant in Illinois, was recently fired—for being "too pretty"!

The company officials claimed that her "male co-workers found her so attractive they were distracted from their normal duties."

It's sort of like Catch-22. This society fosters the idea that women must "look nice" to be worth anything. Females often aren't hired if they aren't "pretty." Now they're fired if they're "too pretty."

Peggy Hughes took her case to the Illinois Fair Employment Practices Commission, and the commission ruled that the firing violated sex discrimination laws.

Hughes has been rehired.

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HOUSTON 12 FACE FRAME-UP CHARGES AGAIN: The indictments were dismissed May 20 for five of the Houston 12, a group of members and supporters of the Youth Against War and Fascism who were arrested while picketing a Zionist fund-raising rally during the October Mideast war.

Two days later, district attorney Carol Vance successfully moved to reindict the five.

All 12 defendants are charged with assault on a police officer, a misdemeanor in Texas carrying a two-year sentence. In addition, five of the 12 are charged with attempt to murder a police officer, a felony carrying a two-year-to-life sentence.

At the May 20 trial of these five, three of them Chicanos, Andrew Jefferson, a Black judge, dismissed the case saying that the indictments were handed down by an all-white grand jury that didn't represent the Harris County community and its minorities. This is the first ruling of its kind in Texas.

While appealing Jefferson's decision, Vance also empaneled another grand jury—this time with one Black and

two Chicanos on it. This new grand jury handed down the same indictments on May 22.

The Houston League of United Latin American Citizens, a Chicano civil rights organization, has announced its intention to file a class action suit to apply Judge Jefferson's precedent-setting decision to all cases in the county. This suit, if successful, would reopen hundreds of cases of Blacks and Chicanos who have been railroaded to jail by all-white juries.

No dates have been set for the trials of the Houston 12.

ANOTHER BUFFALO CREEK?: The West Virginia coal mining town of Wharton is in "imminent danger" of the same kind of flooding that took the lives of at least 125 people in nearby Buffalo Creek in 1972, according to an Interior Department hearing officer's ruling May 20.

The Buffalo Creek disaster was caused by a break in a crude dam holding back an impoundment of water and coal waste sludge. The ensuing flood swept away the people, homes, schools, and even the soil of Buffalo Creek. A similar impoundment and dam exist in Wharton.

The Interior Department ruling rejected the Eastern Associated Coal Corporation's appeal from a federal mine inspector's order closing the company's impoundment in June 1972. However, there is no indication the company will be forced to rebuild or eliminate the potentially deadly impoundment.

INTERNATIONAL DAY FOR FREEDOM IN HAITI OBSERVED IN BOSTON: International Day for Freedom in Haiti, May 18, was observed in Boston by a rally of nearly 200 people and a motorcade through the section of the city in which most of Boston's estimated 10,000 Haitians live.

The activities, sponsored by the Haitian Action Committee of Boston, was part of international demonstrations protesting the dictatorship of Jean-Claude Duvalier and demanding asylum in the U.S. for refugees from Duvalier's terror.

The rally was addressed by Haitian refugees and speakers from the U. S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners, the United Farm Workers union, the Young Workers Liberation League, and the Socialist Workers Party.

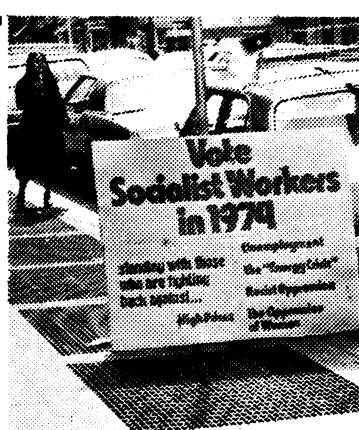
STUDENTS CHARGE LAW SCHOOL WITH RACISM: Black, Chicano, Native American, and Asian-American students at the University of Washington Law School held a boycott of all classes May 8. The students charged the law school with discrimination. As a result of student struggles in the late 1960s, these students had won the right to preferential admissions. But once the students were let in they were left to flounder and flunk out. Last year 12 out of 18 minority students received failing grades.

These students are now demanding post-admission affirmative action programs to get the help they need to compensate for the rotten education meted out to them in America's "educational" system. They want the administration to be committed to seeing that students from oppressed nationalities are not only admitted into law school but that they stay and receive the education they need to become competent lawyers.

—NORMAN OLIVER

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Protestants fight to hold privileges

Behind right-wing strike in Ireland

By DAVE FRANKEL

Fifty-three years ago, when Northern Ireland was carved out of Ireland by the British imperialists, the slogan of the proimperialist Protestants was "a Protestant parliament for a Protestant people." Today, the Protestant reactionaries claim to stand for "majority rule," but the meaning is the same.

The right-wing strike that paralyzed Northern Ireland for two weeks beginning May 15 was aimed at scuttling the token concessions won by the oppressed Catholic minority there in the civil rights struggle of the last six years. Its success in toppling the Northern Ireland government May 28 is a deadly threat to the entire Catholic population.

The success of the Protestant reactionaries will embolden them to further attacks against the oppressed community as a whole. This threat is best understood in light of the events leading up to it.

British conquest

The struggle in Ireland is basically one of an oppressed nationality for self-determination. When the British conquest was completed in the late 1600s, land was confiscated from the native inhabitants and given to settlers loyal to the invading monarchy. This was the origin of the Protestant community in Northern Ireland.

This settler population, originally distinct in customs and language as well as in religion and origin, was given special privileges relative to the native population. The Protestant peasants were better off than their Catholic counterparts, and the landlord class was almost wholly Protestant. Later, many of the Protestants in the northeast became skilled workers. The Catholics were the last hired, the first fired, and relegated to the most menial and poorly paid jobs.

Except for a short period around the time of the French revolution, when a sector of the Protestant middle class hoped to establish an independent Irish state, the social divisions between the two religious communities have been expressed politically in Protestant (loyalist) support to British imperialism. The consolidation of this reactionary base in opposition to the national aspirations of the Catholic masses enabled Britain to prolong its control over all of Ireland until 1921. When this finally became impossible,



Protestants block Belfast street

the British government was still able to maintain direct control over six of the 32 Irish counties.

The civil rights movement

Maintenance of Northern Ireland as an imperialist enclave has meant the continued oppression of the Catholic minority, which is 35 percent of the population there. Loyalist demonstrations regularly turned into attacks on the Catholic ghettos, often with the open participation of the police force.

Catholics were discriminated against in housing, much of which was built with public funds and administered by the Protestant-dominated local government bodies. These bodies were elected under a system by which the number of votes people were given varied with the amount of property they owned.

The boundaries of Northern Ireland were drawn from the beginning in order to include the greatest amount of territory possible while maintaining a safe loyalist majority. The same principle was applied in setting election districts within Northern Ireland in cases where property qualifications didn't apply. In 1966, for example, 10,000 votes for the ruling Unionist Party elected 16 members to the Derry city council. The anti-Unionists polled 20,000 votes and elected eight council members.

These conditions led to the formation of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association in 1967. Inspired by the Black struggle in the U.S., the Catholic civil rights movement demanded the end of discrimination in jobs and housing, and the adoption of the principle of one person, one vote. Civil rights marches were attacked by both police and vigilante groups, but they began to draw massive participation from the Catholic community.

The treatment of the Northern Ireland civil rights marchers became an international scandal, embarrassing the British government. In August 1969, when traditional loyalist demonstrations celebrating the Protestant ascendancy turned into massive attacks against the Catholic ghettos, British Prime Minister Harold Wilson sent troops to Northern Ireland.

Although the Catholics in their beleaguered ghettos welcomed the British troops at first, it soon became clear that the troops had been sent simply to cool the situation down and maintain the existing system.

The Catholic ghettos had been invaded by right-wing loyalist gangs, but massive arms searches by the British troops were directed solely against the nationalist areas. Guns held by the Catholics for defense against the loyalist pogroms were illegal, since they weren't licensed by the government. Loyalist "gun clubs," however, had no problems in licensing their firearms.

Within a year fighting had broken out between the nationalist population and the army. Increasing resistance to army raids led to the introduction of internment without charge or trial in August 1971. This attempt to break the resistance of the Catholic ghettos reached its height in January 1972 when British troops opened fire on a civil rights demonstration in Derry, killing 13 people.

The massive international outcry over this massacre—known as "Bloody Sunday"—forced the British to retreat. In March 1972 Tory Prime Minister Edward Heath announced the suspension of the Stormont parliament that had ruled Northern Ireland for 50 years and the introduction of direct rule from Britain. He promised to phase out the policy of internment, and promised that a way would be found to insure Catholic participation in the government.

Internment has not ended to this day. Despite British promises, there are still 600 men in Long Kesh prison. The selective use of internment as a weapon against the nationalist population is shown by the fact that 90 percent of those in Long Kesh are Catholics, and most of the Protestants there have been tried and sentenced to specific terms on specific charges.

However, in March 1973 the British government came out with a white paper proposing the establishment of a Northern Ireland Assembly elected on the basis of proportional representation, and of a provincial executive that would have guaranteed places

for representatives of the Catholic community. Having failed in the attempt to crush the nationalist opposition in Northern Ireland, the British now attempted to win the collaboration of a large enough section of the Catholic population to enable them to succeed in isolating and repressing the left wing.

'Power sharing'

The British claimed that their plan would enable Catholics and Protestants to share power in Northern Ireland. Actually, the real power under this plan would remain in Britain, where it always has been. London retains control of foreign policy, the police, and the courts under the new plan, and must approve any Northern Ireland Executive before it can take office. In addition, much of the Northern Ireland budget comes from London.

The British plan was finalized at a meeting in Sunningdale, England, in December 1973. The *New York Times* wrote at the time, "this splendid agreement advances dramatically the chances for peace and reconciliation in Ireland."

But the discrimination suffered by the mass of Catholic workers in housing, employment, and education will not end as a result of the implementation of the Sunningdale agreement. At best, this agreement will assure a narrow layer of Catholic politicians and middle-class "moderates" new job opportunities.

The left wing of the nationalist community, led by both wings of the Irish Republican Army (IRA) came out strongly against the Sunningdale agreement, which was denounced as a further maneuver to maintain British control over Ireland. The right wing, represented by the Social Democratic and Labor Party, participated in the Sunningdale meeting. The SDLP had vowed never to negotiate with the British as long as internment was still in effect, but the British gave them some cover by agreeing to the establishment of a "Council of Ireland."

This Council, touted by the Dublin government in the southern 26 coun-

Continued on page 25



British troops were introduced in 1969, supposedly to protect Catholic ghettos. Soldiers were soon used in attempt to break struggle for equal rights.

Union locals endorse socialist W'gate suit

By CONNIE PIPER

Two locals of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME)—Local 1930 in New York City and Local 1880 in Detroit—recently passed resolutions supporting the work of the Political Rights Defense Fund (PRDF). The resolutions, both of which were approved overwhelmingly, ask that the upcoming international convention of AFSCME endorse the PRDF.

The PRDF is publicizing and financing a civil liberties suit by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against Richard Nixon and other government officials.

Ray Markey, a member of the executive board of Local 1930, pointed out that by supporting the PRDF, the local "would help protect our own right to speak out."

Both AFSCME locals that endorsed the PRDF have a tradition of political activism. Local 1930 is composed of New York library workers; Local

the right and opportunity to explore different political ideas without fear of harassment or intimidation. . . ."

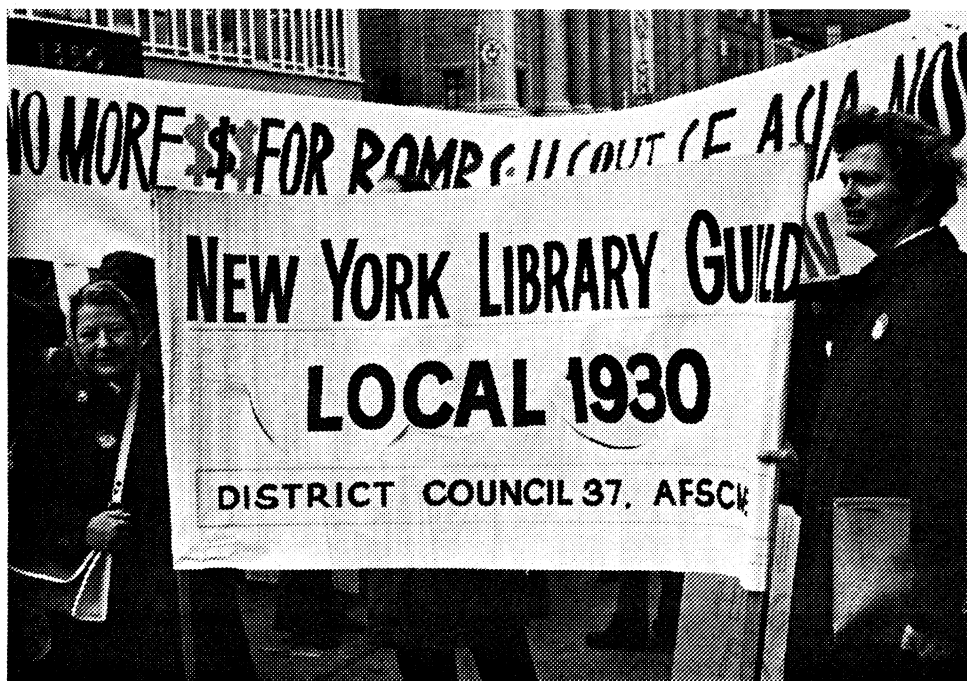
Other AFSCME locals that are sponsors of the suit include Chicago Local 2000 and Detroit Local 1497, which contributed \$25 to the PRDF.

Several AFSCME officials have also become sponsors, including Neal Bratcher, director of District Council 19, Illinois, and the presidents of four locals in Detroit, Philadelphia, New York, and San Francisco.

In another development, the PRDF has reprinted an article by Noam Chomsky that appears in the June issue of *Ramparts* magazine.

In his article, titled "Watergate and Other Crimes," Chomsky concentrates on acts of government violence against Black organizations, socialists, and other radicals. He quotes extensively from the recently released FBI "Counterintelligence Programs," including the "SWP Disruption Program."

"The programs for repression and



AFSCME Local 1930: 'As trade unionists we particularly value the right of freedom of association. . . .'

1880, of young Detroit welfare workers. Many members of both participated in the antiwar movement and in last spring's protests against high food prices.

The socialist suit, filed by attorney Leonard Boudin, seeks a permanent injunction against government infiltration, wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, and other illegal Watergate-style harassment against those who disagree with administration policy.

In response to the suit, the government has already been forced to admit initiating a secret FBI "SWP Disruption Program" in 1961, conducting electronic surveillance of the SWP back to 1945, and maintaining a mail cover on correspondence addressed to the SWP national headquarters in New York.

The resolution endorsed by Local 1930 contends, "As trade unionists we particularly value the right of freedom of association, without which no union or political organization is free to function. . . ."

"RESOLVED: that AFSCME Local 1930 endorses the goals of the Political Rights Defense Fund to publicize the civil liberties issues involved in this case and to raise money for legal expenses. . . ."

Detroit AFSCME Local 1880 had previously contributed \$100 to the legal costs of the suit by buying PRDF fund-raising Watergate buttons for its members. In its resolution, the union declared, "As municipal and state employees we are particularly concerned that our clients and ourselves have

stifling of political opposition that I have been discussing," Chomsky writes, "go far beyond anything revealed in the Watergate investigations. For anyone who is concerned with democratic principles and practice, they are far more significant than the whole collection of Watergate exposures."

To order reprints of Chomsky's article and other PRDF literature, including the *Challenge to the Watergate Crimes* booklet, send in the coupon below.

Clip and mail to Political Rights Defense Fund, Box 649 Cooper Station, New York, N.Y. 10003. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.

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() Enclosed is \$_____ for reprints of "Watergate and Other Crimes" by Noam Chomsky. (five cents each; \$3 per 100.)

() Please send me more information on the suit.

Name _____
Address _____
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Huston spy plan target of Jane Fonda's suit

By HARRY RING

LOS ANGELES—A federal district court judge will consider an American Civil Liberties Union motion to require White House spy planner Tom Charles Huston to answer questions posed in a lawsuit filed by actress Jane Fonda.

District Court Judge Malcolm Lucas said he will also consider an ACLU motion requiring Huston to produce certain documents pertinent to the case.

Represented by the ACLU, Fonda is suing the federal government, Richard Nixon, and various other individuals for violating her constitutional rights. In the suit, filed last October, Fonda charged that because she is an opponent of the Nixon administration and the war in Southeast Asia she has been the target of surveillance, provocation, burglary, intimidation, and harassment. She charges that because of her activity, federal agencies have improperly maintained political files and dossiers on her.

She is seeking \$2.8-million in damages and is asking the courts to enjoin the government and individuals involved from further violations of her constitutional rights.

Huston is the author of the notorious White House spy plan for an illegal spy operation aimed at stepping up surveillance of dissident elements in the country, in order to harass and intimidate them.

In the course of the Watergate revelations the Huston plan came to light. Nixon, in a speech last May 22, acknowledged he had approved the Huston plan back in 1970 but indicated it had been scrapped because of objections from J. Edgar Hoover.

Huston, however, told the media on July 9, 1973, that Nixon had never formally rescinded his approval of the plan.

Huston is one of those named in Fonda's suit. Representing him in his capacity as a former government official, the U.S. attorney filed an answer to Fonda's complaint, admitting many of the factual charges she made.

However, when a deposition was taken from Huston April 19, the government advised him to refuse to answer the most salient questions on

grounds of "national security."

Specifically, according to the ACLU, Huston refused to respond to all questions regarding his recommendations to codefendant H.R. Haldeman concerning "domestic security" operations.

In accepting the present ACLU motion, Judge Lucas slated a hearing for July, at which time, he said, the government will have to legally justify the refusal to answer Fonda's questions.

Additionally, Huston did not answer Fonda's question as to whether or not she was marked for tax harassment. The ACLU said there is reason to



FONDA: Victim of government harassment because of antiwar views.

believe that Huston was involved in having the Internal Revenue Service harass individuals and groups the government regarded unfavorably.

This is substantiated by an exhibit entered into the record during last winter's Senate Watergate committee hearings. It is a memo from Huston to Haldeman on the desirability of a consistent campaign of harassment of "leftist organizations" by the IRS.

The ACLU said both its national organization and Southern California affiliate had undertaken Fonda's suit because of the serious violations of freedom of speech, association, and assembly and invasion of privacy.

EXHIBIT No. 42

MEMORANDUM

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

September 21, 1970

MEMORANDUM FOR: H. R. HALDEMAN

SUBJECT: IRS & Ideological Organizations

I am attaching a copy of a report from the IRS on the activities of its "Special Service Group" which is supposed to monitor the activities of ideological organizations [e.g., Jerry Rubin Fund, Black Panthers, etc.] and take appropriate action when violations of IRS regulations turn up. You will note that the report is long on words and short on substance.

Nearly 18 months ago, the President indicated a desire for IRS to move against leftist organizations taking advantage of tax shelters. I have been pressing IRS since that time to no avail.

What we cannot do in a courtroom via criminal prosecutions to curtail the activities of some of these groups, IRS could do by administrative action. Moreover, valuable intelligence-type information could be turned up by IRS as a result of their field audits.

TCH
TOM CHARLES HUSTON

The above memo is cited by lawyers for Jane Fonda as basis for compelling Huston to answer questions about whether Fonda was marked for income tax harassment.

Portuguese demand pay hikes, end to wars

By CAROLINE LUND

The mass rebellion in Portugal continues to deepen. Reportedly for the first time, significant demonstrations were held *against* the policies of the new "provisional government" headed by General António de Spínola.

On May 21 hundreds of African workers and students demonstrated in Lisbon for immediate independence for Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

The Spínola government has refused up to now to grant independence to Portugal's colonies, proposing only "negotiations" with the African rebels and a future "referendum" on the question.

The May 21 action was organized to express solidarity with proindependence demonstrations in the Cape Verde Islands that had been attacked by Portuguese military police. Most of the participants in the Lisbon protest were Cape Verdeans. Approximately 30,000 Cape Verde islanders live in Lisbon, most of them confined to the dirtiest, lowest-paying jobs.

According to a dispatch from Lisbon in the May 22 *Washington Post*, the demonstrators in Lisbon passed out leaflets objecting to the fact that the Spínola government has tried to separate the question of independence for Guinea-Bissau from that of independence for the Cape Verde Islands. The islands are considered more strategically valuable by the Portuguese rulers.

On May 25 another demonstration was held, involving Portuguese youth, soldiers, and sailors, as well as Africans, demanding an immediate end to Portugal's African wars of aggression. The action was estimated by *New York Times* writer Paul Hofmann as 5,000-strong.

The demonstration was planned to coincide with the opening of negotiations in London May 25 between Portuguese Foreign Minister Mario Soares and representatives of the rebel government of Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands.

The next day, May 26, another demonstration of Portuguese and Africans demanded the release of a Cuban army officer, Captain Pedro Rodríguez Peralta, who was being held by the Portuguese military. Rodríguez was captured in the rebel-held territory of Guinea-Bissau in 1969, and imprisoned for allegedly advising the rebel movement.

According to Lisbon newspapers, Rodríguez was still being detained by the military authorities, despite an earlier amnesty, because of a request from Washington that his release be conditioned upon the release of a CIA agent currently being held in Cuba.

Meanwhile, on the economic front, Portuguese workers continued to exercise their newly won right to strike in an effort to win wage increases to catch up with the skyrocketing cost of living. The inflation rate in Portugal was 30 percent in the year ending in March.

As of May 20 there were at least 60,000 industrial workers on strike, according to *Washington Post* correspondent Miguel Acoca. In addition, 200,000 textile workers have been on strike for two weeks. The 8,000 workers at the Lisnave shipyards reportedly ended their strike last week in return for a minimum wage of \$280 a month.

Workers have pressed demands for higher wages and shorter hours despite significant concessions granted to

some by the Spínola junta soon after it took power. Early in May, in an effort to head off labor struggles, the junta approved contracts for thousands of industrial and construction workers that included substantial wage increases of up to 50 percent and a shortening of the workweek to 40 hours.

"In approving the contracts, the junta accepted most of labor's demands," wrote Miguel Acoca in the May 11 *Washington Post*. In this way the generals hoped to have "defused the possibility of crippling strikes," says Acoca. However the junta's concessions only served to encourage other layers of workers to fight for similar improvements in their living conditions.

Free unions

Another concession the junta made was to proclaim the end of the corporate organization of workers and bosses which the Salazar dictatorship had copied from fascist Italy. Under

New York Times reporter Paul Hofmann elaborated on the role of the Portuguese Stalinists, the largest tendency in the Portuguese working-class movement. He wrote, in a May 26 dispatch: "The Communist leadership is telling the workers clamoring for higher wages, shorter hours and better conditions that the strike weapon is most efficient if it is not used too often."

'Exaggerated' demands

The CP contends that widespread strikes and "exaggerated" demands for higher wages and shorter hours would aid the biggest monopolies. How? Because, say the Stalinists, strikes will hurt smaller businesses more and therefore put them at a disadvantage in relation to the monopolies!

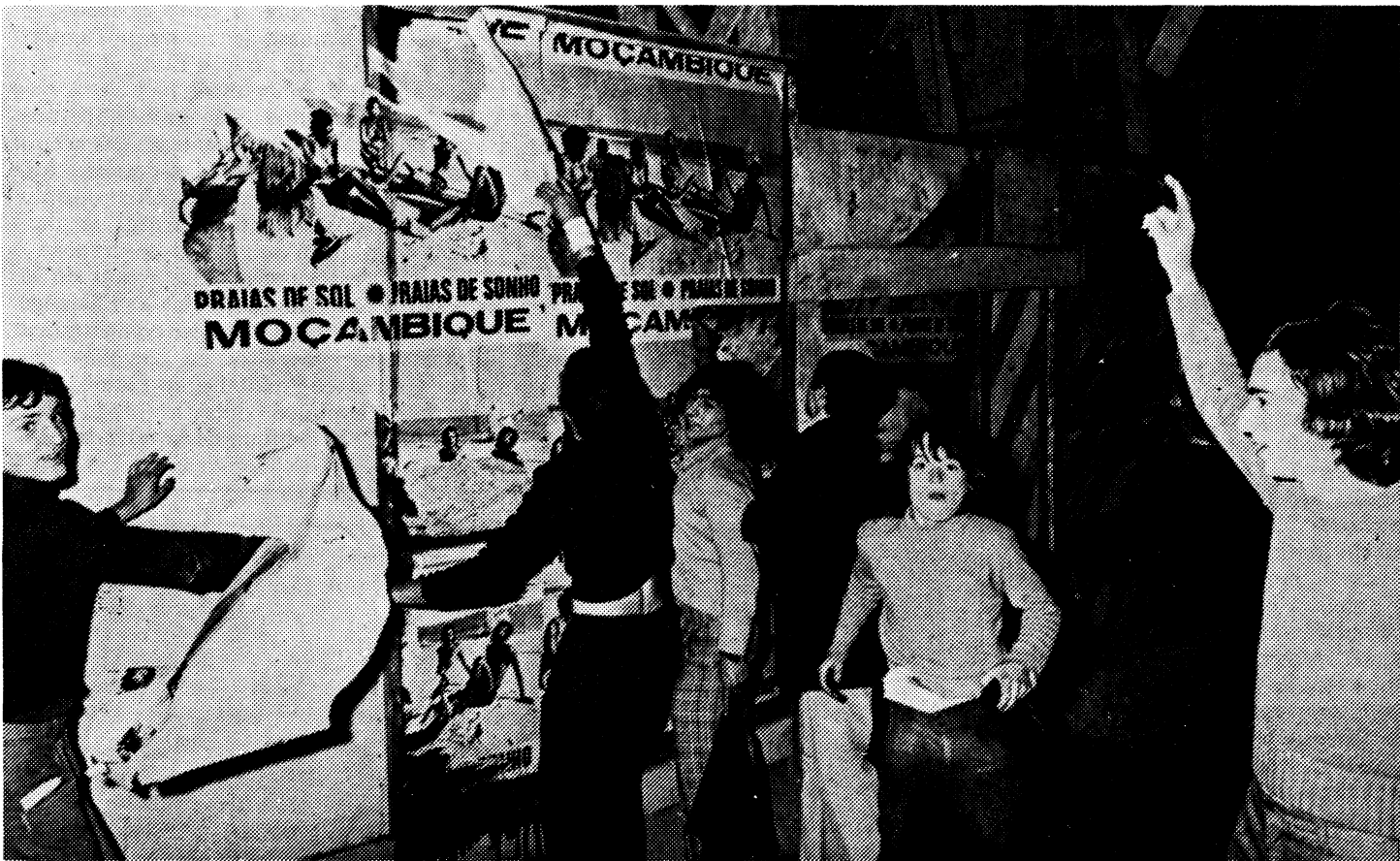
But despite this twisted rhetoric, the CP has no intention of touching the monopolies, either. Hofmann writes, "The party does not now call for general nationalization of large enter-

enemies of the working class. As if any workers ever strike 'for strikes' sake!"

Another example of the pressure the Stalinists are getting from the masses was seen in relation to the kid-glove treatment accorded the former dictators Marcello Caetano and Américo Thomaz. On May 20, the Spínola government allowed these executioners and torturers to fly to a safe and luxurious exile in Brazil.

In May 20 dispatches from Lisbon, both Acoca and Hofmann reported that the Communist Party leaders had approved the exile. However, the following day, when telegrams and letters from all over the country began coming in to the government protesting this move, the CP claimed its leaders had only been "informed" by the junta of the decision and did not approve it.

"How can we try and punish the torturers if we let the top people, on whose order they acted, go scot free?" asked one newspaper editorially.



Young opponents of Portugal's African wars in Lisbon tear down posters presenting Mozambique as a tourist haven for the rich.

that system, strikes were outlawed, officials of the fake "unions" were appointed by the government, and workers' grievances were supposedly "conciliated" within a common organization of the workers and their bosses.

Taking advantage of the junta's legitimization of free unions, the workers have pressed forward to demand democratic assemblies, election of new union leaderships, and expulsion of the agents of the old regime.

Amid this growing awakening, radicalization, and mobilization of working people, the role of the Communist Party has been more and more blatantly one of strikebreaking and suppression of workers' demands.

As the new labor minister, Communist Party leader Avelino Gonçalves is functioning as Spínola's helpmate in attempting to scuttle the workers' struggles. In a May 21 dispatch, Acoca of the *Post* cited "informed sources" as saying Gonçalves "had agreed to go along with a plan to freeze both wages and prices. . . ."

Of course, as occurred in the United States, a "wage-price freeze" always ends up being only a wage freeze.

prises and banks."

The *Times* writer notes that "the marked restraint of the Portuguese Communists is being observed with mounting interest all over Western Europe, especially in Italy, whose large Communist party has been kept out of government."

The capitalist rulers are no doubt wondering if they shouldn't consider utilizing the Stalinists elsewhere in helping them try to tame the growing workers' struggles.

There is not yet an alternative leadership strong enough to challenge the Stalinists' strikebreaking policies from the left. But the CP has been put under pressure by the depth and scope of the current struggles, which threaten to spill over the bounds the Stalinists have tried to set.

For example, on May 27, 6,000 streetcar and bus workers in Lisbon walked off their jobs despite pleas from Stalinist union officials to wait for further negotiations with the city government. These workers, demanding higher pay, wouldn't swallow the CP's official warning that "strikes for strikes' sake" play into the hands of

"Who is giving the orders?" asked another newspaper. "The implication," wrote Hofmann, "was that the provisional Government was nearly powerless."

And indeed, while Spínola utilizes the CP ministers to try to quell his labor "troubles," he holds in the wings the real power—in the eyes of the capitalist rulers—Portugal's armed forces. Spínola has expressly decreed that "the structure of the armed forces is totally independent from the structure of the government."

The *Christian Science Monitor* explained in its May 22 editorial: "The implication is clear: if the Army concludes that the political forces it has unleashed are getting out of hand [that is, if the CP does not succeed in subordinating the workers' struggles to the needs of capitalist profits and stability] it is prepared to step in and take control."

Meanwhile the CP is hailing the "alliance between the popular masses and the armed forces," as if the armed forces, commanded by Spínola, could be looked to by the workers as their ally.

Lisbon negotiates to keep hold on African

By TONY THOMAS

Three thousand African workers crowded around the governor-general's palace in Lourenço Marques, capital of Mozambique, on May 22. They demanded a \$12-a-day minimum wage for striking dock workers, nearly a fivefold increase, and better working conditions for other workers in the Portuguese colony.

The head of the transport authority spoke to the demonstrators, demanding that the dock workers end their strike. He was shouted down by the workers. A delegation of workers sent in to confer with Portugal's colonial minister, Dr. António Almeida Santos, was shouted down by the crowd after they came out favoring a compromise settlement.

Finally, Almeida himself came out and addressed the crowd. He claimed the pay demands were exorbitant. He claimed that "the government has recognized what will lead you to an African government and you will be governed by your own brothers."

Despite this rhetoric and the offer of wage gains, the strikers refused offers made by Almeida and their own leaders.

The Paris daily *Le Monde* reports that "numerous strikes" were occurring throughout Mozambique. Among them were several work stoppages by African laborers on the Cabora Bassa dam, who won the firing of three white South African foremen.

On May 19, Blacks marched in Lícidade da Praia, capital of the Cape Verde Islands. They proclaimed support to the PAIGC (African Party for the Independence of Guinea and the Cape Verde Islands). After they were attacked by Portuguese police, hundreds of Cape Verdians in Lisbon demonstrated in support of them and the PAIGC.

These are a few signs of the growing struggle against colonial domination and superexploitation by Africans in Portugal's colonies and in Portugal itself. The struggle is over whether the African masses will gain control over their own countries, or whether some form of direct or indirect imperialist control will prevail.

On April 25, a junta of military officers overthrew the Caetano dictatorship in Portugal and placed power in the hands of General António de Spínola. Spínola appealed to the various groups that had been waging armed struggles for independence in Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands to cease fighting. He proposed local self-government for the colonies within the context of a "federation" with Portugal.

However, up to this point, the independence groups have rejected his overtures. They have insisted on the right of their countries to immediate, unconditional independence. Despite all its rhetoric about "self-determination," the new Portuguese government has not been willing to grant independence.

One reason why these groups are in-

sisting on independence is the record of brutality that the Portuguese have gained in their colonial wars. Villages were napalmed, Africans massacred, and thousands were herded into concentration camps. Spínola, a Nazi-trained general, served as commander of military forces and governor in Guinea-Bissau from 1968 to 1973.

The June issue of *Africa*, a London monthly, describes some typical Portuguese atrocities, based on a report by officers critical of the pre-coup Portuguese regime.

At Wiriyamu, Mozambique, last year, 400 villagers were wiped out in a Mylai-style massacre. Portuguese troops were ordered to "mop up the ground and kill any living soul, as the region was 100% terrorist." Terrorist was the official term for African freedom fighters.

The report also stated that in another operation in Mozambique, 191 people were killed as "terrorists." Despite this label, only one weapon was found in the entire operation.

The Portuguese have defoliated large areas in Mozambique and Angola, seized grain and livestock to starve villagers into submission, and launched the *aldeamentos* program. *Aldeamentos* are concentration camps modeled after the "strategic hamlets" U.S. forces used in Vietnam.

More signs of Portuguese brutality came out as prisoners were released from jails in Angola and Mozambique following the coup. One former prisoner told of a guard who put prisoners' eyes out with his saber. Another prisoner reported how the Portuguese had tied a prisoner to a stake and then forced the other prisoners to kick soccer balls against him until he died. Others reported being beaten for speaking their own languages rather than Portuguese.

Negotiations

The ruling military "coordinating committee" and the provisional government have called for negotiations with the African liberation groups. The aim of these negotiations is not to establish immediate independence for the Portuguese colonies but to impose a settlement that would allow Lisbon to hang on as long as possible.

Both the Communist and Socialist parties have joined Spínola's government and have gone along with his refusal to grant independence to the colonies.

Alvaro Cunhal, minister without portfolio and general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, was quoted in the *New York Times* as saying that rather than withdrawing Portuguese troops from Africa and granting immediate independence, "The essential thing at this moment is to negotiate, to listen and to find a common basis for a solution." Apparently the Portuguese Stalinists believe the question of independence is "negotiable."

Supervising the closed-door negotiations along with Almeida Santos, is



Voting taking place in the national assembly of Guinea-Bissau

Mario Soares. Soares is foreign minister of the new government and head of the Portuguese Socialist Party. Before the negotiations he met with African liberation leaders in Brussels, London, and Geneva.

The content of Soares's proposals to them can be judged by the reply made by Agostinho Neto, president of MPLA (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola), the largest liberation group in Angola. Neto met with Soares in Brussels. *Le Monde* reports that Neto rejected Soares's proposals because the right of Angola to independence had not been accepted.

Soares announced on May 23 that he would try to hold negotiations with MPLA and with the other two Angolan guerrilla groups, the FNLA (National Front for the Liberation of Angola) and UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola).

He claimed he would "discuss with each group separately, while trying to bring together the different points of view." More likely, Soares is attempting to continue the old colonialist game of divide and rule.

Guinea & Cape Verde Islands

Soares also flew to Dakar, Senegal, where he held meetings with the leaders of the PAIGC. These talks were followed by negotiations that opened May 25 in London between representatives of the Guinea-Bissau government, formed last year by the PAIGC, and the Portuguese government.

More than two-thirds of the mainland of Guinea-Bissau is controlled by the PAIGC. The independent African government led by the PAIGC has been recognized by more than 80 countries and by the General Assembly of the United Nations. With the exception of the Cape Verde Islands, the lands claimed by the PAIGC are less strategically and economically important than Mozambique and Angola. The Portuguese may grant independence to the mainland for this

reason.

However, the current talks appear to be bogged down around the question of the Cape Verde Islands. The islands are 300 miles west of Senegal, with a population of several hundred thousand. Through Portuguese administration, the islands have been integrated with the mainland of Guinea-Bissau culturally, politically, and economically.

The PAIGC was founded by militants from both Guinea-Bissau and the Islands and has demanded independence for both areas.

Even before the Spínola coup, especially around the time of the assassination of PAIGC leader Amílcar Cabral in January 1973, the Portuguese tried to disorient and divide the independence movement by raising the possibility of granting independence to Guinea-Bissau but not to the Cape Verde Islands.

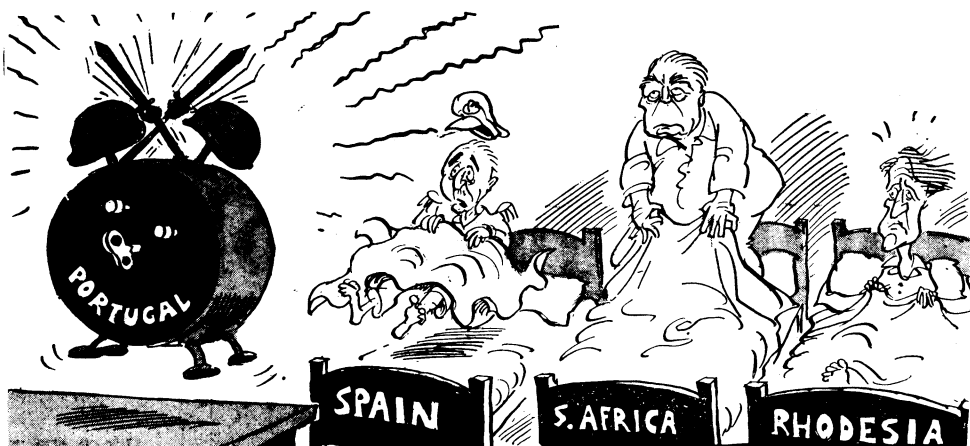
U.S. imperialism

One of the leaders of the military junta in Portugal told the *Washington Post* that the junta "does not wish to antagonize the United States." The *Post* reported that this officer "indicated that for this reason, the Cape Verde Islands . . . would not be included in the cease-fire talks" with the PAIGC.

Washington, which has poured hundreds of millions of dollars into Portugal to support its African wars, has long viewed the Cape Verde Islands as potential bases for military operations. In addition, the islands serve as key links in South Africa's air communications, since Black African countries bar South African planes from landing on their territories.

Portugal is under other pressures from South Africa and from Rhodesia not to grant independence, particularly to Mozambique and Angola.

South Africa and Rhodesia are dominated by white minorities, while the African majorities are denied basic democratic rights. Independence for Mozambique and Angola, even under



Reveille Portuguese style

colonies

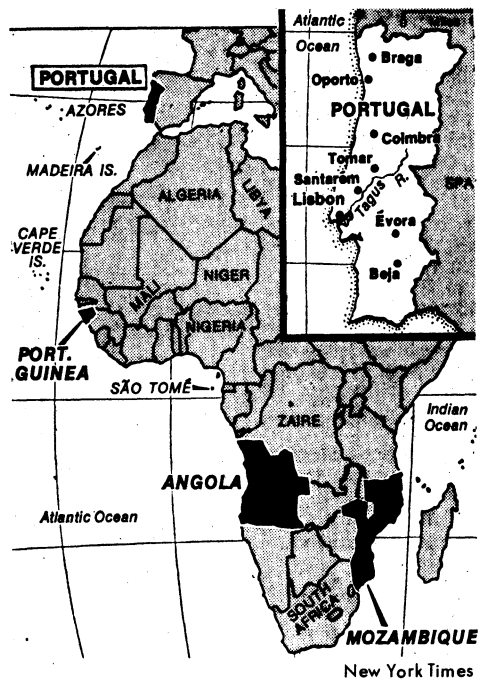
neocolonial regimes would, by the force of example alone, gravely endanger these white supremacist regimes.

The economies of these countries are also closely tied to those of the Portuguese colonies. The bulk of the Black workers in South Africa's diamond mines are forced laborers from Angola and Mozambique. Nearly half of South Africa's commerce is shipped through the port of Beira, Mozambique. Rhodesia is also heavily dependent on Mozambican ports.

The establishment of Black-controlled governments in Mozambique and Angola that would apply the economic sanctions carried out by most African countries against these white settler-states could cripple their economies. These racist regimes reportedly favor a unilateral declaration of independence by the white settlers in Mozambique and Angola, if the Portuguese are incapable of holding on.

On May 5, a rally of several thousand whites jammed the plaza in front of city hall in Lourenço Marques, demanding that the junta maintain white domination over Mozambique. The rally was launched by an organization of white settlers called FICO. "Fico" means "I stay" in Portuguese.

When Portuguese military com-



mander General Francisco da Costa Gomes arrived in Beira, Mozambique, he was greeted by thousands of white settlers demanding arms.

Portuguese offers

Soares and other Portuguese officials have announced that the colonies would be allowed to "determine their own future" in elections to be held within one year. African independence fighters would only be allowed to participate if they stopped the armed struggle.

A "senior Portuguese Foreign Office official," interviewed in the May 25 *Washington Post*, said that the Portuguese are not ready to pull out of any of these territories. The official pointed out that time was needed to prepare the referendum and that voting would be different in each country.

Up to this point the African liberation groups appear to have rejected this proposal for Portuguese-supervised elections.

This proposal is incompatible with the interests of the peoples of Angola, Mozambique, and Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands. It gives the Portuguese colonialists the right to determine through literacy requirements and other provisions an electoral basis that may be favorable to the Portuguese junta's schemes for a "fed-

Continued on page 26

5,000 march on White House on African Liberation Day

By NORMAN OLIVER

WASHINGTON, D. C. — The national African Liberation Day demonstration, which took place here May 25, drew between 4,000 to 5,000 Black people from around the country.

The more than five-mile march from Washington's Malcolm X Park to the White House and back was led by a contingent of Ethiopian and Eritrean students who sang songs and carried picket signs with slogans such as "Africa for Africans."

A large banner demanding "Independence for Portuguese colonies" and "U.S. out of Africa" was carried by members of the Young Socialist Alliance.

Following the march a rally was held. Speaking at the rally were Imamu Baraka, chairman of the Congress of African People; William Lucy, head of the Coalition of Black Trade Unionists (CBTU) and secretary-treasurer of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees; and Dawolu Gene Locke, chairman of the African Liberation Support Committee (ALSC), which organized the demonstration.

Speaking about the Portuguese attempts to negotiate less than full independence for its African colonies, Baraka said, "Neocolonialism is what they're going to try to run on the Portuguese colonies. But they won't go for that because they've been fighting for too long for independence to stop now."

William Lucy spoke briefly, pledging the support of the CBTU in the fight for human rights for Black people all over the world.

The May 25 action was the culmination of a month of activities. The ALSC had designated May as "African Liberation Month."

One of the focal points for the month's activities was local actions held on the weekend of Malcolm X's birthday, May 19. Demonstrations



Militant/Norman Oliver

were held in Houston, Atlanta, Detroit, Chicago, Los Angeles, San Diego, Minneapolis, and other cities. A number of these actions brought out 200 to 300 people.

Last year the African Liberation Day actions were held in more than 30 cities and drew some 30,000 Black people. The first large mobilization of Black people around support to African liberation movements in Guinea-Bissau, Mozambique, Angola, and in the apartheid regimes in southern Africa was on May 27, 1972. On that date 25,000 marched in Washington, D.C., and another 3,000 in San Francisco.

This year's demonstration differed markedly from previous ones. The ALSC, which organized the 1973 and 1974 actions, has in the last year been moving away from the concept of organizing protests around the central theme of demanding an end to Portuguese colonialism, the white-settler states in southern Africa, and U.S. complicity with them. Issues raised at this year's march, besides support

for African liberation movements, included demanding an end to the energy crisis, an end to police repression in the Black community, and the impeachment of Nixon.

The major slogans of the demonstration were "Dump the Chump [Nixon]," "Down with Imperialism," and "Black people must be free, Black workers take the lead." Sporadic chants against Portuguese colonialism's and U.S. imperialism's role in Africa were raised by sections of the march.

This shift on the part of the ALSC has evoked widespread discussion in the committee about its perspectives. Important questions about the strategy and tactics not only for the ALSC, but the Black liberation movement as a whole are being raised.

Some of these questions were discussed at an ALSC-sponsored conference on "Racism and Imperialism" held in Washington May 23 and 24. Three hundred activists attended the meeting.

Future issues of *The Militant* will discuss the key issues being debated.

Detroit Blacks demonstrate, demand 'Africa for Africans!'

By JUDY HAGANS

DETROIT—Nearly 1,000 Black people demonstrated their solidarity with the struggles in southern Africa on Detroit's third annual African Liberation Day on May 18.

A central focus of the action, which was organized by the African Liberation Support Committee, was solidarity with the liberation movements in Mozambique, Angola, and Guinea-Bissau against Portuguese imperialism.

Some of the groups participating

in the demonstration were the Highland Park College Student Government, Association of Black Students at Wayne State University, Congress of African People, Operation PUSH-youth division, African Guards, Pan-African Congress, Inner City Sub Center, Inc., Ethiopian Students Union in North America, Young Socialist Alliance, Socialist Workers Party, New Black Christian Community Church, and Black Christian Nationalists.

Placards with slogans such as "Remember Amilcar Cabral," "Recognition

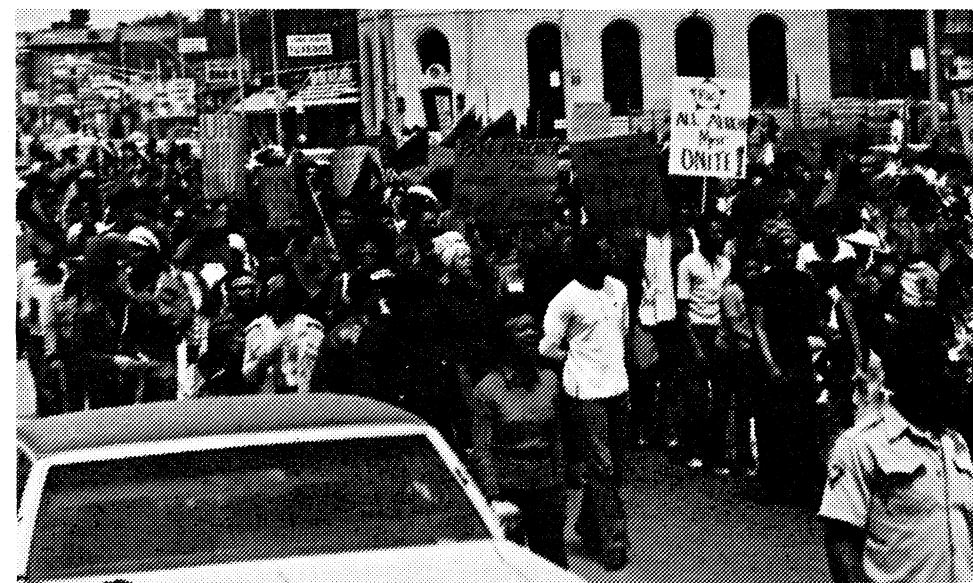
of Guinea-Bissau," "Destroy Neocolonialism," "Freedom By Any Means Necessary," and "Mozambique will be free" were carried by the sisters and brothers.

At the rally at the Adlai Stevenson Building a message was read from Mayor Coleman Young, who had officially declared May 18 African Liberation Day in Detroit and endorsed the demonstration.

Speakers from Africa included Dr. Ntlati, formerly of the African National Congress in South Africa; Brother Chigunji, a representative of UNITA (National Union for the Total Independence of Angola); and Brother Mesvin of the Ethiopian Students Union.

"UNITA," Brother Chigunji said, "will not give up the armed struggle for self-determination."

Trudy Hawkins, a leader of the Detroit Young Socialist Alliance and the Socialist Workers Party candidate for state board of education, told the rally, "We must continue to get out the facts about what the U.S. government is doing in Africa. The best aid that Black people can give the African liberation movements is to expose and organize against the role of the U.S. government in southern Africa. We must demand that the U.S. end all military and economic aid to Portugal and South Africa."



May 18 demonstration in Detroit

Militant/B. R. Washington

Teachers' interests hurt by Shankerite campaign against NY's District 1 parents

By DOUG JENNESS

NEW YORK — There were many organizations and individuals who supported the parent-selected "Por Los Niños" slate in the recent school board election in New York City's District 1.

But there are 68 men and women who deserve special mention. Not because their support was any more valuable or more highly publicized. It wasn't. But because they helped put the lie to United Federation of Teachers President Albert Shanker's pretensions that the entire UFT is behind his campaign against the Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese parents in the district. The 68 are teachers and paraprofessionals—members of the UFT—from 13 schools in District 1.

They distributed a statement to hundreds of teachers throughout the city indicating that the Por Los Niños slate's "actions and program speak to the needs of both teachers and students."

Their viewpoint was contrary to that of the Shankerites, who supported a ticket in opposition to the Por Los Niños candidates. This "Brotherhood" ticket, as they called themselves, charged school Superintendent Luis Fuentes with "hiring incompetents for our schools . . . and throwing out qualified,

dedicated educators who were hired on the merit system."

Thousands of teachers throughout the country attentively followed this election campaign. It is common knowledge among members of both the American Federation of Teachers and the National Education Association that Shanker is moving to take over the presidency of the AFT at its convention in August. His actions are therefore watched with special attention to determine whether or not they advance the interests of teachers.

The answer is that Shanker's opposition to the struggle of oppressed minorities in District 1 is not only harmful to educating the district's children but an obstacle to defending the interests of teachers.

First of all, let's clear the record on Luis Fuentes's administration and the parents who back him. Although Shanker contends that they are firing teachers, he doesn't cite any specific instances. The fact is that there aren't any. If anything is said about hiring and firing, it should be mentioned that in 1972-73, when the parent groups had a majority on the community school board, the number of bilingual classroom teachers was raised from six to 120 without firing any other teachers.

Then earlier this year, when budget cuts ordered by the central board of education threatened to eliminate 114 teaching positions in District 1, it was the parents and Fuentes who took the lead in fighting these cutbacks.

Many teachers held joint meetings with the parents to discuss action against the board of education's orders. What role did Shanker play? He discouraged united action between the parents and teachers and opposed demonstrations and boycotts.

In a telegram to the trustees of the community board, Shanker falsely charged Fuentes with "cutting teacher positions" and demanded that "the padded district payroll be reduced." In other words, he aimed his fire at Fuentes and not the central board of education. Shanker worked out a compromise with the board of education in the districts where cuts were proposed. This was to transfer money from federally funded special programs (Title I funds) to pay classroom teachers threatened with layoffs, at least until June.

This maneuver to avoid a struggle with the board of education was carried out at the expense of special reading, math, and bilingual programs—and only temporarily resolved the problem of layoffs. It fits the pattern of Shanker's do-nothing policy for the past five years as approximately 4,500 teaching posts have been eliminated.

Shanker's slander campaign against the parents' struggle on the Lower East Side is also divisive. When, in the name of the city's teachers, he supports an opposing slate to that chosen by the Parent Associations, he widens the gap between teachers and parents. At a time when both parents and

teachers need allies and united action against governmental slashes in education, Shanker's policy weakens rather than strengthens the union as an instrument of struggle.

One of the most significant gains made by the Por Los Niños campaigners this spring was the extent to which they were able to drag Shanker's lies out into the daylight and expose them before a larger audience than had been previously possible.

This process was facilitated by Shanker himself when he tried to get the courts to allow special polling places in middle-income apartment build-



Shanker prefers deals in defense of privilege with figures such as Peter Brennan, Nixon's labor secretary, to struggling together with parents for more jobs and better education.

TEACHERS AND PARAPROFESSIONALS SUPPORT "FOR THE CHILDREN" - "POR LOS NIÑOS" SLATE IN DISTRICT 1

We are teachers and paraprofessionals who are members of the United Federation of Teachers and who support the "Por Los Niños" slate of nine candidates for the community school board election in District 1. The slate for the May 14 election includes: Carmen Barreto, Bertram Beck, Francisco Ferrer, Georgine Hoggard, Elroy Jones, Edwinna McLaughlin, Henry Ramos, Nicomedes Sanchez, and Janice Wong.

Although we do not necessarily agree with all the views of these candidates, we feel their actions and program speak to the needs of both teachers and students. They were screened and selected by a broad representation of parents and community activists in the district and are endorsed by the Parents' Council (composed of the 20 elected presidents of the district's Parents Associations).

They stand for:

1. more funds in order to provide better educational programs and for more teachers. When layoffs of teachers in the district were threatened in February by the Board of Education's proposed budget cuts, these candidates and their supporters were in the forefront of the struggle against the cutbacks and layoffs;
2. the right of parents with children in the schools—which in District 1 are 93 percent Puerto Rican, Black and Chinese—to select school personnel, allocate funds, and select curricula and programs;
3. increase the bilingual and bicultural programs.

We urge you to support the "Por Los Niños" slate—For more information, come to 34 Ave. B at 3rd Street or call 673-8322.

Digna Acosta, P.S. 64	Mariana Gaston, JHS 22	Marta L. Reyes, P.S. 60
Genevieve Albino, P.S. 122	Francisca Gomez, P.S. 134	Raymond Rivera, JHS 22
Nelsi Aldebot, P.S. 134	Robert Greenberg, JHS 22	Miriam Rodriguez, P.S. 34
Cruz Birkmaun, P.S. 34	Olga Guzman, P.S. 64	Sonia Rodriguez, P.S. 20
Anna M. Carattini, P.S. 188	Miriam Hobbs, P.S. 122	Gene Romeo, JHS 22
Iluminda Cartagena, P.S. 20	A. Jones, P.S. 64	Felix Rosado, P.S. 160
Stanislaus Chao, JHS 22	Emily Leung, JHS 22	Nancy Rosenthal, JHS 22
S. Chopra, P.S. 64	Nydia L. Maldonado, P.S. 15	Linda Rosario, P.S. 34
Stella Chow, P.S. 20	Donna Manganello, P.S. 64	E. Ruiz, P.S. 34
Ruby Chu, P.S. 63	Carmen Mangual, P.S. 64	Rosa Sanchez, P.S. 64
Carmen Chunga, P.S. 34	Arminda Marcilla, P.S. 61	Carla Shipman, P.S. 122
Veronica Colon, P.S. 134	Josefina Martinez, P.S. 64	Yark Wah Tai, P.S. 63
Maria Cotayo, P.S. 20	Marcia Mayper, JHS 22	George Tang, JHS 60
Joefina Cotto, P.S. 15	John Mine, P.S. 188	Claudio Taveras, P.S. 122
Miriam Cuatrecasas, P.S. 34	Angeline Miranda, P.S. 63	Mildred Tinker, JHS 22
Elizer Davila, JHS 60	Caroline Mirthes, JHS 71	Brigida Torres, P.S. 122
Mary L. Deitch, P.S. 63	Eba Montalvo, P.S. 134	Maria Torres, P.S. 20
Wanda Diggs, JHS 22	De Rita Montesinos, P.S. 134	John Tsai, JHS 60
Juanita Dones, P.S. 122	John Mosley, JHS 22	Dina Weiner, P.S. 64
Julie Fuentes, P.S. 34	Iris Perez, JHS 22	Francis Woo, P.S. 160
Iris Garcia, P.S. 64	Yee Ling A. Poon, JHS 71	Jean Zachos, JHS 22
Raquel Garcia, P.S. 34		Bruni Zayas, P.S. 64
		Hilda Vidal, P.S. 134
		Marlene Wechsler, P.S. 134

This leaflet was distributed to hundreds of teachers throughout New York City.

ings. These apartments are occupied primarily by elderly whites with no children in the public schools. No such privilege was proposed for Puerto Rican, Black, and Chinese voters, whose children make up 93 percent of the school population. This undemocratic maneuver failed, and he was unmasked before tens of thousands as the racist bigot that he is.

So when Shanker's "defense" of teachers' interests is put side by side with the views of the 68 teachers who publicly supported the Por Los Niños ticket, he doesn't fare so well. His policy is accommodation and the defense of privilege; theirs is united struggle for more jobs and better education.

Farm Workers picket Coachella grape harvest

By HARRY RING

COACHELLA, Calif., May 28 — Harvesting of grapes has begun in this desert area, and United Farm Workers pickets are out at the ranches picketing and continuing their struggle for union recognition.

Harvesting has been delayed by unseasonably cool weather, although the delay has not been as great as that of last year. Some 20,000 boxes of grapes have been shipped out of this area so far.

The field director of the UFW here, Gilbert López, says the growers are having a difficult time because of the weather and because of improper preparation of the crop, which is resulting in a poorer yield.

He said that in the months prior to the beginning of the harvesting the union had gone throughout the southwest spreading the word of the strike. As a result, many of the experienced

grape workers have bypassed Coachella to work on other crops rather than scab on the UFW.

So, in Coachella, the work has been done by less experienced hands, making for poor preparation of the crops and a harvest yielding poor quality grapes.

The union cannot maintain a large number of pickets in the area because it does not have the financial resources to do so. When the UFW strike began here a year ago, the AFL-CIO executive council contributed more than \$1-million to a strike fund. This enabled the UFW to pay strike benefits, permitting many workers to join the ranks of the pickets.

This year, the union is only able to give very meager benefits and maintain a food kitchen for the several hundred strikers.

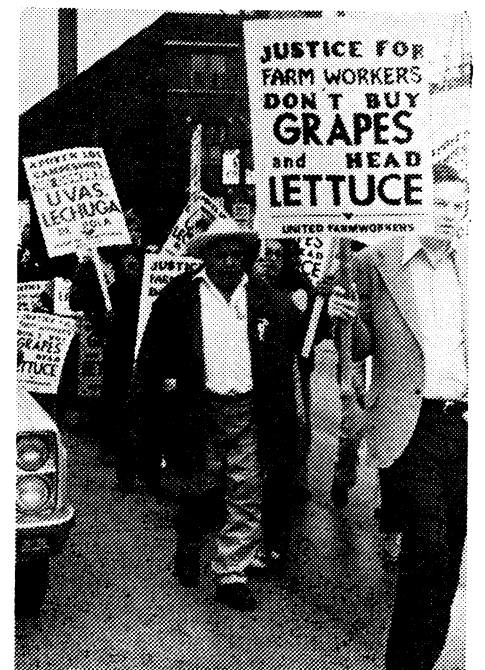
The Teamster officialdom and the growers are continuing their harassment of the union. The UFW will ap-

pear in court today to respond to a motion by the head of the K.K. Larsen Ranch. Larsen is seeking a court order to prevent the union from picketing within more than 100 yards of the ranch and to enjoin the union from promoting a boycott of his grapes.

Larsen last year was one of the two growers who renewed with the United Farm Workers. This year he chose to sign a sweetheart contract with Teamster officials to avoid negotiating a legitimate contract with the UFW.

The Farm Workers say that whatever the outcome of the court hearing, they are determined to continue the fight.

Because of its present situation in the fields, the UFW is focusing more heavily than ever on the boycott and is appealing for all of its supporters to join in pressing the boycott of scab grapes and lettuce throughout the country.



Recent UFW boycott action in Chicago

By DICK ROBERTS

Despite soaring inflation and rising unemployment, "the worst is behind us," President Nixon claimed in a May 25 radio speech on the economy.

The speech was not directed primarily at working people. Few Americans, especially those who are searching for jobs and struggling to pay for the spiraling cost of living, will put any faith in the promises of the Watergate liar. And it's not the first time Nixon has said "the corner has been turned" or words to this effect.

Nixon was mainly attempting to reassure investors. The first weeks of May have seen increasing signs in the banking system that a major financial crisis is brewing. In its editorial columns May 24, the *New York Times* went so far as to demand, "To prevent the present financial crisis from turning into a crash, the task of [administra-

should be purchased now. They are all the more in need of funds to buy this equipment. Thus—as is the case today—capital spending can still increase while a recession has started. This is reflected in soaring interest rates.

But on top of these two inevitable factors, the Federal Reserve is pursuing "tight money" policies. The government is charging higher interest rates on the money it lends to reserve banks, all the more driving up the cost of money.

Recessionary aims

This is because—whatever sweet talk there might have been in Nixon's radio address—the administration is following policies aimed at deepening the recession.

And Nixon did make this clear. "The requirements for full economic recovery may sound like harsh medicine—budgetary restraint, no tax cut, tight money—but there is no alternative," said the presi-

The same Arthur Burns spent one late night that month phoning bankers and reassuring them that the Reserve Board would back up all of the Penn Central's major obligations. A financial crisis was averted—but at the "cost" of abandoning tight money policies.

Effects of the present credit crunch are also being felt. "... smaller companies are beginning to be priced out of the market," *Business Week* reported May 18. "And bankers, nervously eyeing their own strained liquidity, are becoming increasingly selective about making new loan commitments."

On the weekend of May 11-12, the Federal Reserve was forced to undertake a massive rescue operation for the Franklin National Bank, the twentieth largest. While exact figures are secret, the *Wall Street Journal* reported loans of \$1.1-billion to Franklin, indicating that what is involved is by far the biggest bank failing since the depression.

A major real estate investment trust company, the Associated Mortgage & Investment Company, has filed for bankruptcy. Consolidated Edison of New York, the nation's largest utility, is in such financial straits that the whole bond market has been affected.

These financial uncertainties all the more drive up the cost of borrowing money. The end result must be corporate production cutbacks—beginning with the weaker firms—which will work their way through the economy. These will cause more workers to be laid off, reducing purchasing power all the more and intensifying the recession.

How deep will the recession go? How much will it cut into profits? Which firms will go under? These are the kinds of questions being discussed in the financial pages of the capitalist press, and in such an atmosphere, a sharp slide of stock prices cannot be ruled out.

This is what the editors of the *New York Times* feared and it is why Nixon went on the air to soothe the nerves of investors. In a big stock market slump hundreds of millions of dollars worth of paper values are lost, especially weakening small investors. It would be one more crack in the administration's rapidly narrowing base of support.

But the anxieties of financiers are far from reflecting the pressing needs of workers. Whatever happens to the Dow Jones stock average in the next months, it is certain that prices will continue to rise even as more and more workers are thrown out of jobs and into the streets.

The ruling class and its agents in Congress are virtually united on this prospect for workers. Democratic "friends of labor" are tripping over each other in prescribing their own brands of how to salvage the economy, how high prices should be allowed to go, how many workers they can get away with seeing unemployed, what the minimum unemployment compensation they can get away with paying, how many taxes can be saddled on workers, etc.

And the union misleadership of George Meany & Co. is sloganeering for a "veto proof" Congress—meaning the election in 1974 of even more Democratic "friends of labor"—as the supposed answer.

The real answer for workers, which will become clearer and clearer as the unemployment lines grow and the grocery lists shrink, is to use their own independent strength—instead of relying on the capitalist politicians—to fight against the evils of inflation and unemployment.

Such a policy would be furthered by putting an end to the current political subservience of the labor movement to the capitalist parties by building an independent labor party based on the unions.



... will mean more layoffs and other hardships for workers.

Nixon's 'tight money' policy aims to deepen recession



'Credit crunch' that is causing jitters on Wall Street . . .

tion] policy reconstruction must begin at once."

What is causing the financial storm on Wall Street? What is the administration actually doing about it? What does this portend for working people?

'Liquidity crunch'

A "liquidity crunch" inevitably occurs at a certain stage of the capitalist business cycle. It means that corporations are starved for cash—liquid funds—and that banks are charging exceptionally high interest rates to corporations to borrow these funds.

The prime lending rate, at which banks lend to the most credit-worthy corporations, has reached an all-time record of 11.75 percent at the First National Bank of Chicago and the Michigan National Bank of Detroit.

In addition, high interest rates are being encouraged by the Federal Reserve Board's policy of making credit increasingly costly for banks.

There are two interrelated reasons why interest rates shoot up and money becomes scarce at a certain point of the economic cycle.

In the first place, as a recession begins, corporations are unable to sell as many goods as they have produced, and so are required to hold large inventories of unsold goods. They are forced to borrow while they are waiting for these goods to be sold. Banks demand higher interest rates on such occasions. They also usually demand a big share of the unsold goods as collateral and eat up big shares of the profits if and when these goods are ultimately sold.

In the second place, under the inflationary conditions increasingly marking capitalist economies, even once a recession has begun, corporations do not necessarily stop purchasing the machinery and other equipment they will need in the next upswing.

Their financial departments figure that equipment will be even more costly in the future and

dent.

By limiting federal spending, keeping tax levels high, and driving up interest rates, the government hopes to force production cutbacks with the necessary result of higher unemployment. The more people who are jobless, the more workers fear to fight for wage increases. Dampening worker militancy, depressing wage-increase levels, and lowering the standard of living are the only answers capitalism has for soaring inflation.

Lest there was any doubt after Nixon's speech that the administration would continue with these antilabor policies, the chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, Arthur Burns, spoke out May 26.

"The future of our country is in jeopardy" said Burns. "Inflation at anything like the present rate would threaten the very foundation of our society," he continued, explaining that the Federal Reserve would continue its tight money policies.

"Dr. Burns observed that unemployment would inevitably rise as a result of efforts to combat inflation . . .," the *New York Times* reported.

The capitalist press usually makes every effort to underplay a recession as it develops. Unemployment figures do not count people who have given up looking for jobs. Gross income figures are reported without taking into consideration who gets the income or what effect inflation and taxes have had. And all the production figures are distorted by inflation, so that the economy may appear to be expanding because of higher-priced total output, while it is actually contracting when the higher prices are entirely due to inflation.

In this light, an article in the May 26 *New York Times* by Irwin Kellner, a vice-president of the Manufacturers Hanover Trust Company, was most revealing. Kellner attempted to get at real economic data, divorced from inflationary effects. He reported:

"● The ratio of the increase in consumer credit to the total of disposable incomes (a measure of people's confidence) has fallen precipitously, from 2.8 per cent in the first quarter of 1973 to 1 per cent in the first quarter of 1974. This is the level at which the 1969 recession began.

"● Real unfilled orders peaked in November, 1973, and are now back to July, 1967 lows.

"● Real retail sales peaked in March, 1973, and are now as low as they were in autumn, 1972.

"● Consumer purchasing power, as measured by per capita real disposable income, fell sharply in the first quarter and is about where it was in the fourth quarter of 1972."

These facts spell out lower real wages for working people, a real decline in what they are purchasing, against a background of sharp industrial cutbacks. It is a recession well underway with no end in sight.

Kellner stated, "In terms of both purchasing power and stock of financial assets . . . the consumer is in poor financial shape. I don't expect people to really begin spending more until their purchasing power improves. . . ."

For the rulers of this country, a liquidity crisis, unavoidable as it is from the standpoint of attempting to manipulate the economy, also carries a certain overhead. In June 1970, almost exactly four years ago, such a liquidity crisis caused the collapse of the Penn Central Transportation Company—the nation's largest railroad and seventh largest corporation by assets.

'Discipline'?

What can working people do about the scourge of inflation? Federal Reserve Board Chairman Arthur Burns counsels more "discipline" in consumer spending. "We have become a nation of impulse shoppers, of gadget buyers. . .," he said. "And many of us no longer practice comparative price shopping."

This cynical advice merely adds insult to injury for the millions in this country who have long since been forced to cut back their spending, not for luxuries, but for basic necessities such as food and clothing.

The economic mess in this country is not the fault of working people. It is the result of a deliberate assault on our standard of living by the capitalist class and its government — through wage controls, speedup, and increasing unemployment.

Wage increases in 1973 were far lower in the U.S. than in nearly all other major capitalist countries. This is what is really behind government policies: a drive to improve the U.S. capitalists' competitive position on the world market by slashing real wages.

The trade unions should expose the phony arguments of the capitalist economists and politicians and launch a campaign for higher wages and cost-of-living escalator clauses in all contracts. To effectively meet the bipartisan attack on working people, the unions will have to break with the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties and launch an independent political party of labor.

Gay rights setback

The New York city council's defeat of Intro 2, the gay civil rights bill, means a stepped-up campaign will be needed to secure passage of the bill the next time around. Intro 2 would have outlawed discrimination against homosexuals in housing, jobs, and public accommodations.

Many other cities, including San Francisco, Detroit, and Washington, D.C., have passed some form of civil rights legislation for gays. But the prolonged New York struggle has become a battle of nationwide significance between reactionary forces and the fighters for justice for gay people.

The right-wing forces that prevented passage of the bill were spearheaded by the Catholic Church hierarchy, which justifies the continued oppression of gay people by claiming Intro 2 will "damage the true civil rights cause in this city and will endanger the freedom of every citizen to protect his family life from a serious immoral influence."

The Church's phony concern over "immorality" was matched by the hypocritical performance of the Democrats and Republicans in the city council who refused at the last minute to support the bill because of right-wing pressure.

All supporters of democratic rights should join in exposing the reactionary arguments against Intro 2 and help campaign to win full legal rights for New York gays.

'Law and order'

A young Chicano, Albert Terrones, was recently shot and killed by police in Union City, Calif.

His crime? He allegedly stole a ham.

Was the killing a mistake? An isolated incident?

On the contrary, it was only one more example of a deadly pattern. Other incidents in this pattern include the death of 14-year-old Tyrone Guyton, a Black youth shot in the back and killed by California cops while fleeing from a stolen car.

In New York 10-year-old Clifford Glover didn't have to commit any crime other than being born Black to get shot in the back by a white cop.

This systematic terror against the oppressed is what hypocrites like Nixon mean when they talk about "law and order." Their order means racial oppression and the exploitation of the many by the few. Their law means the sanctity of private property regardless of the cost in life.

These ruling parasites, who maimed and murdered millions in Indochina to preserve their privileges, sanctimoniously denounce the terrorism of groups like the Symbionese Liberation Army. But the real criminals sit in the police cars, on the judges' benches, in the halls of Congress, and in the Oval Office. And the day is coming when they and their capitalist masters will be called to account by the American people.

Pentagon secrets

Many people were shocked to discover that false reports had been given to Congress by the White House and the Pentagon in regards to the secret bombing of Cambodia in May of 1970.

The Air Force now says that giving false information to the American people and to Congress is not only legal but that they do it all the time!

In a memorandum sent to the Senate Armed Services Committee last August, and recently made public, the Air Force law office says it's perfectly legal to disguise military operations through inaccurate or untrue official reports.

They back up their claim with some interesting examples of concealment of covert government activity. Among the examples were:

1) Government construction in 1940 of air bases in Latin America, using private contractors as a diplomatic cover.

2) The dispatch of U. S. marines to Brazil in 1941 to guard airfields, while through agreement with the Brazilian government, the marines were identified as aircraft service technicians.

3) Funding for the CIA, which is included in appropriations for other government agencies and is separately identified only to a few members of Congress.

4) Concealment by the same practice of the development of nuclear weapons during World War II.

"In each of the above examples," says the memorandum, "official reports obviously reflect, or reflected, inaccurate or untrue information."

And I'm sure that's just the tiny tip of the iceberg.

L. O.

New York, N. Y.

Solzhenitsyn

In his analysis of Solzhenitsyn's letter to the Kremlin (World Outlook, March 29), Allen Myers cites an excerpt from *Cancer Ward* in which the enigmatic character, Shulubin, defends with Lenin's own words the right for the worker to equal pay with the official. However, during a later conversation in the novel this same Shulubin refers to the futility of a socialism in which economics precedes personal ethics and hatred supplants love as the generating force of its ideology.

Closer scrutiny of this concept may well provide a key to the understanding of Solzhenitsyn's choice of solutions, which received the hardly benign label of "reactionary nonsense."

Thomas Aery

Albany, N. Y.

Armenian demonstrations

I was very happy to find coverage of the recent Armenian demonstrations against Turkish oppression in the May 10 *Militant*. As one personally concerned with and aware of this situation, I found your article very good.

There have been similar demonstrations in other countries as well. The demonstration in Erevan, the capital of the Armenian SSR, is particularly noteworthy [600,000 participated]. Even though certain governmental officials participated in this demonstration, it was "unofficial" and occurred against the wishes of the Soviet authorities. Its massive

size and emotional content, however, forced at least a passive acceptance on the part of the authorities. Such demonstrations, which began in 1965 (the fiftieth anniversary of the massacres) have led to the replacement of the head of the Armenian Communist Party and are intimately related to the growth of nationalist and dissident movements in the USSR.

Ronald Jameson

Southfield, Mich.

Summer camp counselor

This summer I am going to have a job in which I'll be superexploited. I'm going to be a dramatic counselor at a summer camp. For the entire eight weeks I'll be receiving a measly \$550 plus room and board. I'll not only be teaching drama, but also living with the kids, so I'll be working long hours. For the hours of preparation before camp, I don't get extra pay. I'm one of the higher paid counselors.

It is difficult for counselors to unionize, since they are there for only eight weeks, and they can usually easily be replaced.

C. W.

Philadelphia, Pa.

More on COINTELPRO

The *Triton Times*, student newspaper of the University of California in San Diego, ran an article on the FBI COINTELPRO memos. They introduced their article with the following statement:

"The American press, needless to say, has almost totally ignored these memos, which are certainly more significant and frightening than Watergate, or even streaking. And, of course, the only paper to publish the memos was the *Militant*. . . ."

M. B.

San Diego, Calif.

FBI documents reprint

The following letters are a small sample of the requests *The Militant* has received for copies of the reprint of material from our March 22, 1974, issue.

The reprint includes the article "FBI memos detail government plot to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operation against Black leaders and groups.

Reprints may be ordered from the Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014. (212) 929-3486.

4¢ each for 500 or more

5¢ each for 100 to 499

6¢ each for 50 to 99

7¢ each for 10 to 49

10¢ each 9 or less

* * *

Please send us 100 copies of the COINTELPRO documents on the Black movement. They should make an excellent addition to our Young Socialist Alliance literature table.

Steve Millen

Bloomington, Ind.

Please send 10 copies of the reprint offered in the May 10, 1974, issue of *The Militant* regarding the article "FBI memos detail government plot



Contract clashes ahead

Since Nixon's wage and "price" controls elapsed, the bosses and the workers are gearing for new contract clashes.

Prices continue their upward spiral, with the April Consumer Price Index 10.2 percent higher than a year ago. This rate of inflation is about double any wage increases (5.5 percent tops) won by unions during the three years labor was sharing in "equality of sacrifice."

The result is that as of April the average worker's real spendable earnings were down 5.6 percent from a year ago. This is the biggest drop in real wages since the government began figuring this statistic in 1964.

In light of the inflationary robbery, commentators are marveling over the persistence of "labor peace." Workdays lost because of strikes have plunged from 66.4 million in 1970 to 27 million in 1973.

The capitalist "experts" speculate that "workers have lost their taste for walking out." No, the workers are ready to fight to defend their standard of living. It is the conservative bureaucrats sitting on top of the unions who are afraid to take on the bosses—and even more, afraid to take on the bosses' government—in struggles for higher wages. With the end of wage controls, however, they may find it harder to resist pressure from the union ranks.

Already a number of strikes have broken out in the construction industry. These workers have been under wage controls longer than any others, and are anxious to regain what they have lost.

Federal mediators say they are now dealing with about 16 walkouts every week, compared with five a week at the same time last year.

Here are some of the major industry contracts coming up for negotiations:

- On May 15 negotiations began between AT&T and the Communications Workers of America, In-

ternational Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, and Alliance of Independent Telephone Unions. It is the first time the Bell System companies have agreed to bargain on a national basis.

- In June the two big sets of negotiations will be the Pacific Coast shipbuilding yards and the United Steelworkers major copper memberships.

- In September the United Auto Workers at American Motors, and the UAW and Machinists locals at McDonnell Douglas and Boeing Vertol divisions will enter negotiations. Also the Longshoremen's Association on the East and on the Gulf Coasts will be up for new contracts.

- In November the United Mine Workers soft coal contract runs out. The coal miners have major demands for pay, royalties, and safety. UMW President Arnold Miller has pledged that the miners themselves will ratify or reject any proposals offered by the industry.

- In December all the major rail line contracts are up for grabs. These workers—like those in steel and previously in coal—have no say over what their "leaders" get for them.

The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union (ILGWU) corset and brassiere division is also in contract talks. These workers, along with the clothing (dress and suit) workers, are among the lowest paid in the organized labor movement. Some of them will actually get a raise because of the new minimum wage standards.

More workers this year are demanding escalator clauses to raise their wages automatically in line with the cost of living. When New York City transit workers won an escalator clause in April, it signaled a breakthrough that will have repercussions among public employees and other workers throughout the country. The bosses, on the other hand, do not look so favorably upon this demand.

to crush Black movement" and the partially censored FBI documents outlining the COINTELPRO operations against Black leaders and the groups such as the Black Panther Party.

Rusty Rhodes
Venice, Calif.

Send me 100 copies of your FBI story and a *Militant* subscription. Keep up the good work. *The Militant* is the best publication on the left today.

E. P.
Buffalo, N. Y.

Please send us 14 copies of the "FBI Memos" reprint.

Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño
Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico

Order: 100 FBI memo reprints.
Northeastern University African-American Institute
Boston, Mass.

Enclosed is a money order for \$5 for 100 copies of *The Militant* reprint of FBI harassment of political organizations. Keep up the good work!

Mike McMurray
Oxford, Miss.

We subscribe to *The Militant*. Could you send us another copy of the March 22, 1974, issue? Thank you.
Safe Return Amnesty Committee
New York, N. Y.

Send me all the FBI memos I can get for \$5.
A. W.
Boston, Mass.

Please send me 100 copies of your reprints of the FBI memos on the Black movement. I find your paper extremely well written and highly informative and wish to thank you for doing such a good job.
Steven Moniz
Tiverton, R. I.

I am enclosing \$2 for reprints about COINTELPRO from your March 22 issue. Send 25 copies.
Edward Connelly
Bronx, N. Y.

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

¡La Raza en Acción!

Miguel Pendás



Protest repression in Mexico

Chicanos here in Los Angeles have responded quickly to protest the Mexican government's repressive raids against political activists in towns near the California border.

On May 1 Mexicali police arrested five university professors and two students as suspected members of the Liga Comunista 23 de Septiembre, reportedly an urban guerrilla group. They were charged with "intent" to commit robberies, political assassinations, and kidnappings.

The raid sounded suspiciously like previous roundups Mexican President Luis Echeverría has employed to smash political opposition.

On May 8 the repression spread to Tijuana, across the border from San Diego. Activists say that Marta Galindo, an elementary school teacher, was abducted by police and has not been seen since. She was active in a fight for better schools and helped publish a teachers' newspaper critical of the government.

It is feared that at least three other people have been kidnapped in this manner since then. The police deny all, and the Tijuana media have completely blacked out any information on the disappearance of Marta Galindo.

Raza Unida Party chapters in Los Angeles responded to these events by calling a picket line at the Mexican consulate May 18 to protest repression and demand an accounting for the disappearances. Although called with only a week's notice, the picket line drew some 80 persons. It was organized by members of the City Terrace RUP chapter, and the San Fernando and La Puente chapters were cosponsors.

Among those picketing were activists from the National Committee to Free Los Tres; the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA); the Socialist Workers Party; the Young Socialist Alliance; and the Socialist Union.

There is a history of political unrest in Tijuana that is background to the repression. Tijuana has

grown in recent years to accommodate U.S. tourism and U.S.-controlled industry. Yet while Yankee industry prospers, tremendous poverty remains the lot of Tijuana residents. There is a huge *colonia* (shantytown) where an estimated 50,000 to 60,000 poor people live—perhaps 10 percent of the population.

When the government began carrying out "urban removal," resistance developed. More than 7,000 homes were burned by the authorities. One group of dispossessed residents, with the help of student activists, formed a new *colonia*, *Tierra y Libertad* (Land and Freedom), which soon attracted 10,000 people.

On Jan. 28 several *colonos* were arrested on trumped-up charges. Angry *colonos* responded by taking possession of delivery trucks, taxis, and phone company vehicles. They demanded the release of the imprisoned *compañeros*, and held three police undercover agents discovered in the *colonia* as hostages.

Echeverría's troops responded with more brutality. The next day, 1,000 police and soldiers were mobilized to occupy the city. *Colonos* were packed into buses on the pretext that they were going to city hall for a redress of grievances. Instead they were taken 50 miles into the desert and left there. One died on the walk back in the desert heat.

While the residents were gone, troops destroyed *Tierra y Libertad* and burned it to the ground. A child left behind was killed by the bulldozers.

We in the *movimiento* here have a responsibility to put the spotlight on these Mexican government atrocities. We can and must mobilize public opinion to stay Echeverría's hand. And we should also explain how imperialist exploitation creates the impoverished *colonias*. The movement should unite to demand the release of political prisoners in Mexicali and Tijuana.

Lessons of New York printers' settlement

By FRANK LOVELL

NEW YORK—Printers at the New York *Daily News* returned to work May 24 after being notified of a contract agreement, described by labor mediator Theodore Kheel as a "major breakthrough in collective bargaining."

The printers, members of the New York Typographical Union (ITU) Local No. 6, had been out since May 7, when the *News* ejected them from the composing room and began publishing with automated typesetting equipment.

The new settlement contains lessons for all printers and other workers, especially those facing similar threats to job security because of automation.

Terms of the new printers agreement are different from previous ones. The contract will expire in 1984—an 11-year agreement. This is a record.

Besides the 1984 expiration date, the contract has other Orwellian features. According to Kheel, the union and the publishers both got everything they wanted. "The publishers got 100 percent unlimited productivity. The union got 100 percent unqualified job security."

That was to make it look like a fair exchange, where everyone comes

During the life of the contract each printer is entitled to a six-month "sabbatical" or leave of absence, with full pay. This will amount to around \$10,000. In addition, those printers who choose to retire in the next six months will receive a \$2,500 bonus.

Local 6 members will vote on the final version of the contract once it is written. The other major New York daily newspaper, the *New York Post*, is not party to the settlement. The *Post* does not have automated equipment and is negotiating a separate agreement.

Model for publishers

The special provisions of the new contract are designed to facilitate and cushion the switchover from manual to automated operations. The settlement will serve as a model for newspaper negotiations in Washington, D.C., Kansas City, and Dallas, where automated processes are also being introduced.

The New York agreement was worked out in consultation with top ITU officials at the union's national headquarters in Colorado Springs, Colo. When the ITU national convention convenes in St. Louis on Aug. 3, delegates will confront the lessons of this settlement.

By the time the New York contract expires in 1984, the total number of working printers will be drastically reduced, if not eliminated.

Negotiators for the printers union had originally demanded control over all keyboarding operations in the new automated processes. If this demand had been won, the ITU would have had the right to decide who types all copy that goes to print. That demand was dropped, however, and now the publishers will exercise complete control over typesetting.

The question for printers—not only those working on newspapers—is whether this type of agreement amounts to liquidation of the ITU. Bertram Powers, president of Local 6, denies that it does. "True," he says, "we will have fewer members producing newspapers, but if we have as many jobs as we have members that satisfies me." Conversely, if there are no working members, only retirees, no jobs will be necessary, according to this logic.

It is painfully obvious to printers everywhere that modern technology has eliminated many skills of their trade. This is the culmination of a decade-long development of automated machinery.

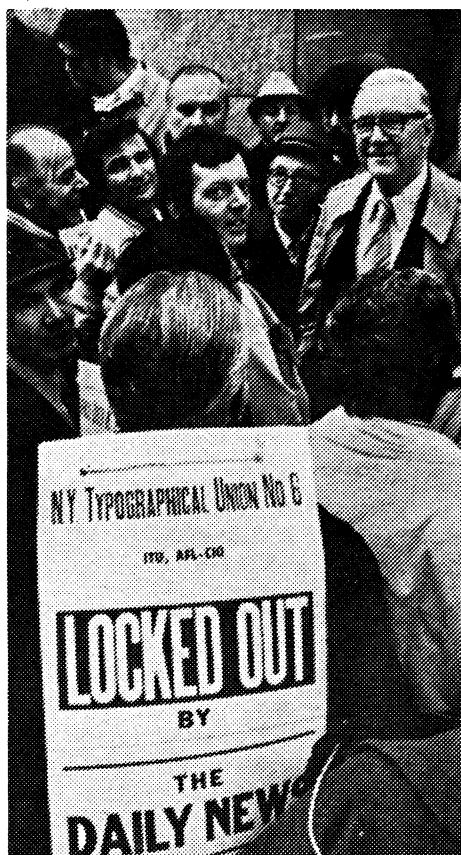
During this period, the industry has been transformed and the printers union has declined in strength and numbers. It has no more than 700 locals nationally and less than 100,000 members.

There are tens of thousands of printers who are not in the union, however. Most of the industry, in fact, is not organized.

Publishers organizations such as Master Printers of America, which calls itself an "open shop organization serving the printing industry," are conducting a running campaign against the printing-trades unions and all attempts to organize workers in the publishing industry.

Craft unions

The open-shop drive is made easier by the narrow and divisive craft structure of unions in the newspaper industry. Printers, press operators, re-



Daily News pickets. New agreement provides job security for these workers, but not for new printers entering the industry.

porters, mailers, and other workers each belong to separate unions. This organizational structure simply cannot meet the needs of any of the workers in the industry.

Two recent examples demonstrate this. When the Newspaper Guild at the *Washington Post* ended its strike earlier this spring, it was forced to accept management's original offer. The Guild officials thought they could bring the paper to terms without asking other unions to join the walkout; they were proved wrong.

During the 17-day lockout at the *Daily News*, the paper was able to publish without the printers. The eight other unions at the *News* were not encouraged to honor the ITU picket lines and they didn't.

The new methods of publishing point to the need for a new union structure that includes all workers in one industrial union.

The old craft unions are playing out their traditional role. They seek to win greater gains for fewer workers, but as the case of the printers union shows, the few are rapidly dwindling to the vanishing point.

The average age of members of the ITU, according to Bertram Powers, is 56. In the meantime, the young workers entering the industry are being ignored.

Under the present situation, what is won for those who remain in the industry during the shift to automation is a short-term gain. It is won at the expense of the unorganized workers, those now employed in non-union shops, and those who in the future will replace the few who still enjoy union protection.

This is why the publishers can agree to lifetime benefits for the current printers. They know that in the long run they will be able to pay lower wages to the newer workers who lack union support.

What is happening in the publishing industry is not a problem for the printing trades alone. Advanced mechanization and automation are penetrating all industry and are causing mass unemployment. The dras-

tically reduced work force in such industries as construction, longshore, and coal mining testifies to this fact. It is thus a problem for the entire labor movement.

Shorter workweek

A much needed demand in the fight against technological unemployment right now is the demand for a shorter workweek at no reduction in pay. This would spread the available work around to all who need it.

Such a demand is an obvious one in the printing industry, but is in the interests of all other workers as well. What is needed is a mobilization of the union movement behind the demand for a shorter workweek, so that working people can benefit from technological advances.

If the demand for a shorter workweek were taken up by any appreciable section of the union movement, it would also be an added incentive to the millions of unemployed and unorganized workers to join the ranks of union men and women.

A campaign to organize the unorganized cannot be successfully undertaken, however, without understanding the reasons for the growing weakness of the union movement. This is nowhere clearer than in the case of the printers union.

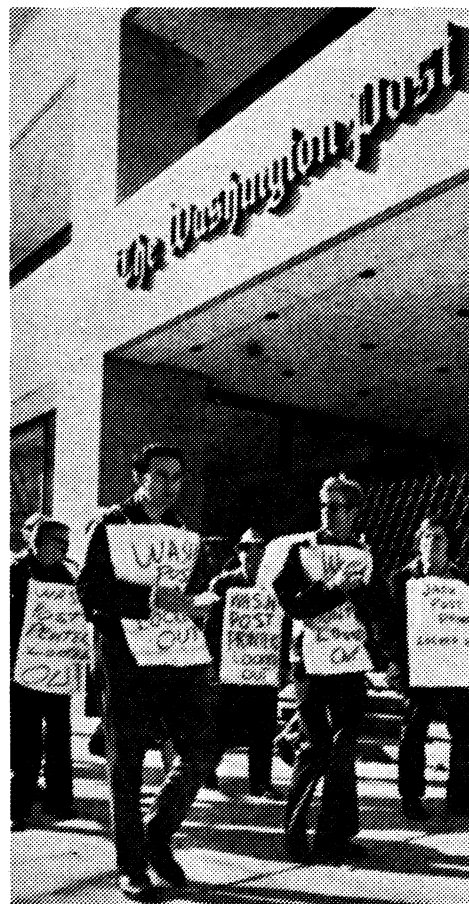
Unless the lessons of the New York newspaper settlement are drawn, that settlement will become the deadend future for many other unions.

The New York printers most immediately affected were not disappointed, but tens of thousands of others will be cheated by the long-range implications of this settlement.

This underscores the need to organize all the workers in the newspaper industry into one union and the importance of the fight for a shorter workweek.



To effectively defend their interests, all workers in publishing industry need to be united in one union.



Washington Post printers during 1973 lockout.

out equal. On closer examination, the printers will find that some are more equal than others and the publishers are the most equal of all.

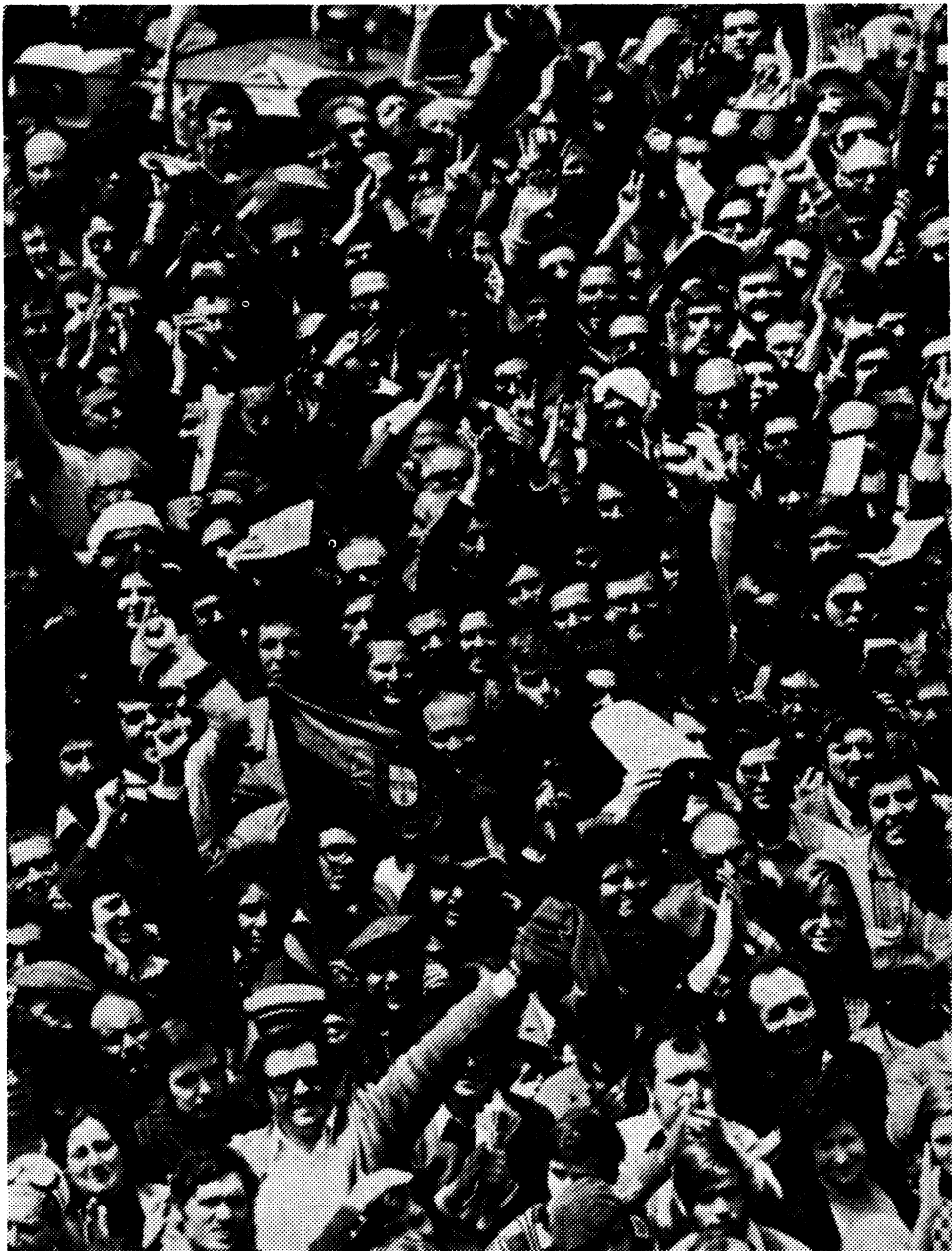
The printers had to accept the same wage increase the eight other newspaper craft unions previously accepted—a raise in weekly wages of \$13.85. This is retroactive to March 31, 1973.

Beginning in the third year of the new contract—April 1, 1975—there will be a 3 percent annual wage increase, plus a cost-of-living adjustment yet to be worked out.

The wage settlement is subject to renegotiation at the end of five years and eight years.

There are currently 1,800 full-time printers at the *New York Times* and the *News*, and 385 substitutes. All are guaranteed lifetime employment.

The state of the world revolution today



May Day, Lisbon

The following is condensed from a speech given in Chicago on the occasion of May Day.

By Gus Horowitz

In discussing the progress of the world revolution it is useful to look back 126 years to 1848, when the *Communist Manifesto* was first published. That document, outlining the main themes of the Marxist program for revolution, marked a watershed in socialist thought. So it offers a good yardstick to use in beginning to measure the progress of the world revolution.

In contrast to their utopian socialist forerunners, Marx and Engels grounded the socialist perspective in a scientific analysis of human history.

They pointed out that capitalism, which had once been a historically progressive system, was becoming an obstacle to human advancement; and they based their argument for socialism on two facts:

1) Economic advances were creating the conditions that would make it possible to realize the goal: from each according to their ability, to each according to their need. Only the most advanced society could do what the *Manifesto* called for—emancipate humanity from all exploitation, class distinctions, and class struggle.

2) The capitalist system, in creating modern industry, also gave birth to its own gravedigger: the modern working class. The proletariat, increasing in numbers, becoming more and more concentrated, not only had a material interest in overthrowing capitalism, but was capable of doing the job.

Marx and Engels pointed out that history has been a history of class struggle. But the struggle of the working class was different in one important respect. As the *Manifesto* put it, "All previous historical movements were movements of minorities, or in the interests of minorities. The proletarian movement is the self-conscious, independent movement of the immense majority, in the interests of the immense majority."

This was a farsighted vision, indeed. At the time the *Manifesto* was written, capitalism was still a young system; many countries in Europe were still backward; and the working class was still in its infancy, and far from being a majority.

Yet the ideas first advanced in the *Manifesto* are now universally recognized as the inspiration for the actions of hundreds of millions of people.

Within the span of human history, 126 years is not a very long time. The progress that has been made since 1848 brings into sharpest relief the revolutionary character of our epoch.

The second major watershed to consider is the Russian revolution of 1917. If we mark its beginning with the *Communist Manifesto*, Marxism had already existed for 69 years before it registered its first victory.

The Russian revolution laid to rest the major argument that had been raised by the enemies of the working class. The workers proved that they were capable of winning and holding power and that the capitalists were not necessary at all. The Bolsheviks showed how it could be done by forging a mass revolutionary party capable of leading the workers and their allies to victory.

If 1848 opened up the era of scientific socialist theory, 1917 opened up the era of socialist revolution. And this has progressed to the point today that one-third of the human race has broken out of the bonds of capitalism.

But the situation today is peculiar; for in the most economically advanced countries of the world—primarily in West Europe, North America, and Japan—capitalism remains.

This is a historical anomaly. The early Marxists had assumed that the socialist revolution would succeed first in the most industrially advanced countries, where the material conditions existed to build a new society.

True, the Bolsheviks had shown it was possible to overthrow capitalism in a relatively backward country like tsarist Russia. But they had never thought that the Russian revolution could stand alone for long. They counted on the rapid spread of the revolution to the more advanced countries of Western Europe.

The Bolshevik expectations were not unwarranted. There were revolutionary upsurges in Europe from 1918 to 1923. But the combination of the immaturity of the newly formed Communist parties and the betrayal of the Social Democratic parties caused the workers to be defeated.

The Soviet Union was left alone, economically and culturally backward. Under these adverse conditions, a privileged bureaucracy arose, headed by Stalin. In defending and rationalizing its own narrow nationalist interests, this new Stalinist caste betrayed the ideals and program of the Bolsheviks, and turned the Communist parties of the world into pro-Moscow pressure groups—instruments of diplomatic maneuvering rather than agencies for promoting revolution, instruments of class collaboration rather than class struggle. The rise of Stalinism was the main cause for the defeats of promising revolutionary upsurges in the 1930s and 1940s in Europe.

As a result, there are two important new features of the world revolution:

1) There is a new task: that of overthrowing the privileged bureaucracies in power in the Soviet Union and the other East European and Asian workers states. These will be *political* revolutions to get rid of the police dictatorships and install socialist democracy, not *social* revolutions to overturn the economic systems.

2) The defeats of the 1930s and 1940s, postponing the revolution in the advanced countries, led to a shift in the center of revolutionary developments to the colonial world after World War II. The power of the colonial revolution was largely unforeseen. Yet so strong has it been that most of the old colonies have won their formal independence, the main exceptions being in Palestine and southern Africa. Furthermore, in China, Cuba, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam capitalism has been abolished.

As a result, we can today speak of three major sectors of the world revolution: the colonial revolution; the revolution in the advanced capitalist countries (which remains the decisive sector); and the antibureaucratic political revolution in the East European and Asian workers states.

That tripartite division is useful for the purposes of analysis, provided it is taken with caution. No sector of the world socialist revolution can really be isolated from the others. Each interacts with and affects the others. Victories in one area of the world inspire struggles elsewhere, while defeats or setbacks in one country dampen struggle in the others.

It is with that stipulation that we will examine these three major sectors of the world revolution.

The colonial revolution

There are three main features to note about the colonial revolution:

1) The shift from direct colonial rule to formal independence has not solved the fundamental problems of the masses. The industrially backward countries of the world have not been able to advance significantly under capitalist rule.

The clearest proof is given by comparing India and China, the two most populous and important countries of the colonial world, both of which were at a roughly comparable economic level 25 years ago.

China, which abolished capitalism, has registered big advances, in spite of all the obstacles placed before it by Maoism. India, which remains capitalist, has stagnated and suffers from an endemic economic crisis.

Twenty-five years of the colonial revolution have shown the incapacity of even the most radical petty-

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'...a growing synchronization of rise in cl

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bourgeois and bourgeois nationalists—of figures like Nehru, Nasser, Nkrumah, and Perón—to alter the wretched conditions under which hundreds of millions of people live. In fact, the gap between the industrially advanced and industrially backward countries has widened.

The conclusion to draw is that in Africa, Asia, and Latin America there will be protracted instability, continual crises, and revolutionary explosions.

2) The peasantry and rural poor have shown an unforeseen capacity to sustain revolutionary initiatives. It had previously been thought that because of its dispersion and cultural backwardness the peasantry could not sustain a struggle for very long. But the experiences of China and Vietnam have proved the opposite.

The Chinese, Vietnamese, and Cuban revolutions have included the use of rural guerrilla warfare at the initial stages; but the essential ingredient of success has been the involvement of huge masses in struggle. Recent attempts to reproduce one aspect of the Cuban revolution—and not the most important one—that is, guerrilla warfare by small groups, have generally failed.

3) From India to Ethiopia to Argentina, in all continents of the colonial world, and in countries at different levels of development, struggles in the big urban centers by the workers and students have been increasingly prominent in recent years. This is very important, because the working class, although smaller than the peasantry in most cases, still has the strategically critical role to play in the colonial revolution.

Imperialist counteroffensive

The imperialists, of course, have done their utmost to maintain their domination over the semi-colonies and remaining colonies of Africa, Asia, and Latin America.

After the Cuban revolution, Washington launched a worldwide counteroffensive, including both direct intervention and building up regional surrogates like Israel and South Africa.

The counterrevolution has had some successes. The imperialists crushed most of the guerrilla movements in Latin America. They dealt a big blow to the revolution in Indonesia in 1965 and to the Arab revolution in 1967.

But throughout this time the Indochinese revolution stood in the forefront. The heroism and tenacity of the Indochinese people kept the imperialists off-balance, helped cushion the effects of defeats elsewhere, and inspired new advances.

In face of their weakness in Indochina and mounting problems at home, Washington had to turn to Moscow and Peking for aid against the revolution. Thus, the détente.

Counterrevolution is the essential feature of the détente. This strategy was applied in Indochina, where we were treated to the shameful spectacle of Moscow and Peking falling over themselves to court Nixon while bombs fell on Hanoi. The détente formulas are also being applied in the Mideast today.

The Indochinese revolution has suffered a setback, but it has not been defeated. The potential still exists for a revival of revolutionary advances there. Recall that the colonial revolution has exhibited a remarkable ability to bounce back from defeats—often in a very short time.

Over the years, the colonial revolution has had increasing political consequences in the imperialist centers themselves. We saw the preliminary signs more than a decade ago, with the effect of the Algerian revolution on France and the revolution in the Congo on Belgium. Indochina, of course, has had the most powerful impact of all, particularly on American politics. Today we are seeing the effect of the African revolution on Portugal.

Revolutionary-minded militants in Portugal and the African liberation fighters in the Portuguese colonies now face a big challenge, the challenge of stepping out and taking maximum advantage of the political openings, without being misled by the new liberal rhetoric of the Portuguese rulers or the popular-front proposals being advanced by the Portuguese Communist and Socialist parties.

The advanced capitalist countries

The colonial revolution is clearly very powerful and important; but through its own strength alone it cannot bring about the downfall of world capitalism. For this, more powerful forces are required. And these lie within the advanced imperialist cen-



San Francisco, 1969. U.S. antiwar movement was example of growing impact of colonial revolution in imperialist centers.

ters—and in the Soviet Union.

With this in mind, the recent upsurge in Portugal can be viewed in another light—as an illustration of the revival of workers struggles and increasing political ferment and radicalization that has occurred in the more advanced capitalist countries in recent years.

The significance of this change becomes clear if we think back to the earlier period of more than two decades of relative quiescence in the working class, and the existence of a cold-war, anticommunist atmosphere that stifled dissent.

Then, U.S. capitalism seemed all-powerful. Its tremendous economic productivity formed the bedrock of the post-World War II era. The United States, through the Marshall Plan and other means, had promoted the postwar recovery of the economies of Europe and Japan. There was a long-term boom, in which Keynesian inflationary techniques were employed with seeming initial efficacy. A stable U.S. dollar was enthroned as the linchpin of the world monetary system.

U.S. military might, resting on its nuclear power, seemed impregnable.

And within the United States, where the decisive battles against world capitalism would have to be fought, it appeared that the world revolution was faced with a reactionary monolith.

All of this has changed. We are now in a period of renewed upsurge of class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries, including the United States. The May-June 1968 massive workers upsurge in France, bringing that country to the brink of revolution, was the first of a series of upsurges that has transformed world politics.

France itself has continued since 1968 to be the scene of political turmoil, as has Italy ever since the big struggles there in 1969-70. In Britain the class struggle has heated up considerably over the past several years.

What we are seeing generally is the growing synchronization of the class struggle in all the advanced capitalist countries—workers struggles, student struggles, women's struggles, national liberation struggles.

There is also looming a growing synchronization of the economic difficulties faced by the capitalists in each of their countries. The breakdown of international monetary stability and the increased economic rivalry are symptomatic of deepening problems. Higher rates of inflation and increasing unemployment are becoming more widespread. There is the threat of simultaneous recessions in many of the key imperialist countries. This economic situation will exacerbate class tensions.

All of this takes place in the context of the undermining of the bourgeois political institutions and forms of governmental rule.

The Watergate crisis in the USA, so well known to us, is not the only example. Italy, for instance, has gone through seemingly incessant governmental crises. The coming into office of Social Democratic governments in Germany and Britain is another sign. And, regardless of the outcome, the current French elections indicate that the Gaullist political structure—the Bonapartist-type setup that was constructed around De Gaulle and was held together in a weakened state by Pompidou—is finished. In a certain sense, this is a delayed reaction, on the political arena, of the effects of May-June 1968.

Changes in the USA

The United States, the former monolith of reaction, has been totally transformed politically under the impact of, first, the Black liberation struggle, and then, one of the biggest antiwar movements in history to take place during a shooting war.

Washington has reaped an unanticipated harvest from its hegemony after World War II. In becoming the dominant power internationally, U.S. imperialism rooted itself in the powderkegs of the world. And all the tensions and social explosions in faraway places like Vietnam have their effects right here at home.

Vietnam revealed the incapacity of U.S. imperialism, as mighty as it is, to fulfill the role it set out for itself after World War II. The "American Century" that the ruling class had boasted of a few years back has not lasted as long as they had expected.

The U.S. rulers have found it impossible to simultaneously: maintain their absolutely preponderant world military role, including the role of world policeman against the colonial revolution; maintain their superior economic productivity vis à vis their capitalist rivals; maintain the dollar as both a durable basis for the international monetary system and as an inflationary device within the U.S.; and maintain a stable political situation at home.

Vietnam laid bare and exacerbated all the contradictions built into the United States as a result of Washington's grandiose world strategy.

U.S. hegemony

While U.S. imperialism has declined in recent years relative to its rivals in Europe and Japan, this has not altered the fundamental fact of U.S. predominance in the capitalist world.

Two major recent events have illustrated this very clearly.

One was the energy crisis, which saw the European and Japanese regimes scurrying for cover, while the U.S. oil monopolies reaped in their profits. Thus was reaffirmed the absolute economic power in the grasp of the U.S. rulers.

The other was the 1973 Mideast war, in which the world was brought to the brink of nuclear confrontation—face-to-face between Washington and Moscow—while London, Paris, and Bonn were shunted aside and left to complain that they weren't even consulted. Thus was reasserted the absolute military preponderance of U.S. imperialism among the capitalist powers.

These two events should lead us to treat with caution any view of capitalist Europe as a serious rival to U.S. imperialism. West Europe is not a political or military entity. And even economically, the Common Market is not much more than a customs union, and a fragile one at that.

No, it is necessary to reaffirm that the decisive battle for socialism will be fought in the mightiest bastion of world capitalism—the United States.

And the rise of the class struggle in the advanced capitalist countries brings much closer the day when this decisive battle will be fought.

The political revolution

What of the struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet bloc?

Despite some encouraging developments in recent

ss struggle, of crises for ruling classes'



Paris, May 1968. Banner says 'Students, teachers, workers solidarity.' General strike of French workers opened period of rise of class struggle in advanced capitalist countries.

years, this sector of the world revolution is not nearly as advanced as the others. But some long-range trends have laid the basis for a rise in struggles there. Particularly significant are the changes in the Soviet Union.

The conditions that enabled Stalinism to arise in the Soviet Union—the economic and cultural backwardness of the country and the isolation imposed as a result of the defeat of revolutions in the early 1920s—have been ameliorated.

The Soviet working class, once a small minority, is now the majority class. The peasantry, whose conservative and narrow outlook helped foster Stalinism, is today on a much higher cultural level than earlier; and we can assume that some of this stratum, organized in collective farms and state farms, have an outlook that comes closer to that of agricultural workers than individual peasant proprietors. The forces favoring capitalist restoration—which were quite strong in the 1920s—are much weaker today. All this is in contradiction to the continued existence of a parasitic privileged bureaucracy.

Furthermore, the development of national Stalinist bureaucracies based in different countries, and often with diverse or contradictory policies, has created a climate in which the independent anti-bureaucratic struggles of the workers can be more easily nurtured. If such-and-such is permitted in Czechoslovakia, the workers in Hungary may say (and did say!), then why not here? If there can be an independent Soviet Poland, then why not an independent Soviet Ukraine?

The economic growth and evident power of the Soviet Union have helped dispel an earlier mood of passivity and despair. The masses are no longer willing to put up with economic and political deprivations that they had tolerated previously because they couldn't see any viable alternatives before.

There is growing recognition of the gap between what currently exists and what should and could exist—and willingness to find some way to do something about it. This is the psychological fuel for all rebellion. Underneath the surface the potential for social explosions has been building up.

As a result, the Stalinist bureaucrats have been forced to grant concessions—some on the political arena, but mostly economic concessions. They hope that by allowing a steady rise in the standard of living they can head off political dissent. But every concession granted only whets the appetite for more.

This is a big factor behind the détente, from Moscow's point of view. The mounting economic problems of the USSR limit the bureaucrats' ability to grant economic concessions needed to keep the lid on. So they have turned to the advanced capitalist countries for help, primarily to the United States.

This development exposes the complete bankruptcy of Stalinist methods on the economic arena as well as the political. Their bureaucratic methods introduce tremendous wastes and disproportions in the economy, and are incapable of making a more and more complex industrial economy work efficiently.

What is called for is a program of workers democracy on all levels, including measures to do away with the materially privileged bureaucratic strata; democratic decision-making to decide on

a centralized economic plan; and workers self-management. In Czechoslovakia, demands raised along this line offer some indications of non-Stalinist alternatives that develop as the workers begin to assert themselves.

There is no space here to indicate many other features to expect in the political revolution in the Soviet bloc, or to list all the key planks in our program for it. I will note only four features that have arisen in the course of the struggles there.

One is the rapidity with which mass upsurges can arise and the degree to which the Stalinist apparatus can break apart under this pressure. The Stalinist apparatus can break apart under this pressure. The Stalinist bureaucracy has enormous political power, but it does not have the same social roots and strength that a class has.

Second is the tendency of such struggles to develop toward socialist democracy, not toward a return to capitalism. This has been the experience in every single upsurge in East Europe.

Third is the fact that elementary democratic issues, which are among the key sources of social dissatisfaction, can provide the sparks that will set off major battles: for intellectual freedom, freedom of organization, freedom of the press, freedom of assembly.

Fourth is the importance of the struggle against national oppression and Russification, which is fostered by the bureaucrats against the non-Russian nationalities. The struggle for an independent Soviet Ukraine, for example, will be very prominent in the political revolution. Already we can see that a large proportion of the Soviet left-wing dissidents are from the Ukrainian movement.

Effects of détente

The détente has special relevance for the political revolution. While the main purposes of the détente are to try to dampen the colonial revolution and to alleviate political instability everywhere, it is likely to have the opposite result in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

The feeling that the military threat from the capitalist world has lessened can have the effect of removing a factor inhibiting dissent. This concern is probably one of the reasons behind Moscow's recently intensified crackdown on dissenters.

This crackdown does not take place in a climate of mass pessimism; it is more in the nature of an attempted preventative measure taken in a climate conducive to stimulating dissent.

The increased difficulties faced by the Soviet dissidents make it incumbent on revolutionists to speak out more than ever in their behalf, to show that they have comrades in the West, supporters who are not reactionaries, but participants in struggles against capitalist oppression.

We should do so, not only because it is an elementary responsibility, but also because of the importance of their struggle for us.

The struggle for socialist democracy in the USSR is not only a struggle for internal democracy, but for the reconstruction of a genuine revolutionary leadership.

It is a struggle for a leadership that will not sell out revolutions, that will not wine and dine a Nixon while bombs rain on Hanoi, but instead will do all it can, politically and materially, to aid the world revolution.

It is a struggle for a socialist democracy that we can hold up as an example of what we want—to

inspire workers to emulate, just as we hold up the ideals of the Russian revolution in the time of Lenin and Trotsky. It is a struggle to end forever the ability of the ruling class to point to a bureaucratic dictatorship in the Soviet Union and claim falsely that socialism equals police rule.

We reject completely any attempt to portray the dissident movement as a tool of Washington and an ally of reaction.

No. The dissident movement includes a variety of political currents. Not all of them are progressive. But the dominant trend is. The struggle for socialist democracy in the Soviet Union is our struggle, the struggle of revolutionists, and we will raise up that banner against all detractors.

The Soviet masses cannot long be sealed off from the effects of the rising struggles throughout the world. And when they speak out once again, their voices will be heard the world over. Their revolution for socialist democracy will have a mighty impact on world politics, second only to the American socialist revolution in importance.

The broadening struggle

There is space only to outline a few additional features of the world revolution.

The class struggle has broadened in three significant areas:

1) The role of youth and students. Students have always constituted a potential political powderkeg, and in some countries have often been among the first to come into struggle. They have also been an important source of cadres for revolutionary parties.

Revolutionists have always appreciated the importance of students. For example, in his *History of the Bolshevik Party*, just published in English, Bolshevik leader Zinoviev relates how the Mensheviks were continually reproaching the Bolsheviks for paying too much attention to the students.

Today, the need of capitalist technology to train a more highly skilled work force has led to a mushrooming growth of the student population all over the world. In the USA, where this process has gone the furthest, students outnumber farmers, and they have a bigger social weight than ever before.

Student struggles may begin around campus-related issues, but they often move on to transcend this initial stage. As a result, students have been able to play the role of detonators of larger struggles, as occurred in France in May-June 1968.

2) The new rise of struggles by women. This development is also rooted in the post-World War II economic and social changes, which highlight the contradictions stemming from the age-old status of women as an oppressed sex tied to the home and family.

The current women's movement began in North America and has registered big advances here. The example has been taken up elsewhere, so that today the women's movement is an important feature of political life in almost all the advanced capitalist countries.

The women's movement has not yet had a big impact in the colonial world, where the oppression of women is extreme; but the ideas are percolating, and when the women come out into action there, it will be truly explosive.

Continued on next page



Brezhnev, Nixon. Detente is aimed at stifling struggles against capitalist status quo.

... state of the world revolution today

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In the workers states, likewise, a women's liberation movement has not yet developed; but it surely will, for conditions there are fundamentally no different for women.

The women's movement challenges the most deep-rooted prejudices, superstitions, and institutions of bourgeois rule, in particular, the patriarchal family system, which predates capitalism, and which has been a bedrock of all class society.

In most previous revolutions, a women's movement has blossomed fully only at the most advanced stages of struggle and often only after a revolution has taken place. The fact that a significant women's movement has developed today is a sign of the depth of the radicalization process.

3) The worldwide spread of national liberation struggles. These struggles have long been recognized as an important part of the colonial revolution; now it is clear that they will play a major part in the advanced capitalist countries and in the workers states as well.

The Black liberation struggle and the Chicano struggle in the USA have been particularly prominent. They show that there will be no possibility of a socialist revolution in this country except in combination with the struggle of the oppressed nationalities for self-determination.

The struggle of the Irish people and the Québec struggle show that this phenomenon is not limited to the United States. National questions long thought to have been solved are coming to the fore once again.

The Stalinists have made the Soviet Union a new prisonhouse of nations, and these oppressed peoples will deal some of the strongest and earliest blows to the bureaucrats. The Stalinists certainly fear this possibility. One of the main reasons behind their decision to invade Czechoslovakia in 1968 was the concern that the example would spread to areas like the Ukraine.

The broadening radicalization in these three areas also has the effect of hastening and deepening the radicalization of the working class as a whole.

The American revolution

The worldwide radicalization today is marked by wide-ranging challenges to all forms of oppression and institutions of class rule. This is particularly evident in the United States.

Examples include the development of radical caucuses among academics; the questioning among young lawyers, doctors, and other professionals of their traditional roles; the rise of what for want of a better term has been called the "revolution in culture"; the development of radicalization in areas that would previously have been thought to be unlikely—within the prisons and in the Army, and the development of the gay liberation movement.

The Watergate crisis, which has extended the credibility gap brought on by the Vietnam war, is illustrative of a truly deepgoing crisis of confidence in the most important institutions of the capitalist state, and the motives of its leading representatives.

In general, no institution or tradition is seen as too awesome or deep-rooted to escape challenge.

And this, too, is a confirmation of the socialist view first raised in the *Communist Manifesto*, which pointed out that the development of capitalism has simplified class antagonisms but has not done away with older forms of oppression.

The class struggle is not reducible to issues like wages and working conditions alone; it includes the struggle against all new forms of oppression and all old forms that are perpetuated and exacerbated under capitalism. That is the classical pattern of revolution as envisaged by Marx and Engels.

Not the least important of the new developments is the historical significance of the rise of radicalization in the USA.

The United States used to be viewed as the most advanced country economically and the most backward politically.

That is not true anymore. Yes, there are still major political backwardnesses here. The working class is still tied to the capitalist Democratic and Republican parties. Socialism is still a frightful word to many people. But the pendulum is swinging back.

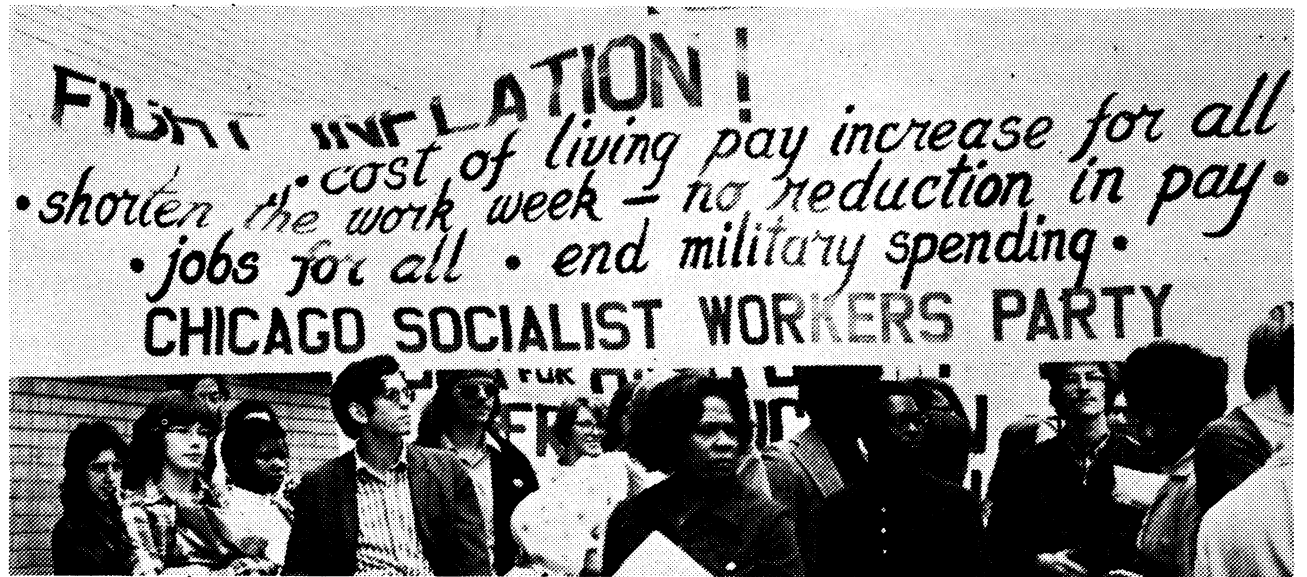
It is an anomaly for an economically advanced country to be politically backward. The logical thing is to expect is for it to be politically advanced as well. That was the case earlier in the

century when revolutionists throughout the world looked to Germany for the most advanced political ideas.

In my opinion, we are entering a situation now where the United States will be looked to as a place where many of the most advanced ideas are to be found—both in terms of the experiences of the American class struggle and the theoretical appreciation of these experiences by revolutionary socialists here.

Building revolutionary leadership

Just as the interests of the working class are common throughout the world, so too are the problems. The main problem in all countries is



Most difficult task in all countries is to build mass revolutionary socialist parties. The Socialist Workers Party aims to become such a party, capable of mobilizing the power of all the oppressed to defeat the most ruthless ruling class in existence.

that of constructing mass revolutionary parties.

This is the most difficult problem of our era. The economic prerequisites for socialist revolution have existed for many years, ever since the turn of the century. Revolutionary upsurges have developed time and again. Yet with only a few exceptions, these upsurges have gone down to defeat.

The primary blame for this is not due to any inherent incapacity on the part of the working class and its allies, or any lack of willingness to struggle in the most resolute manner. The simple fact is that in most cases the parties leading these struggles have not measured up to the task. The Social Democratic and Communist parties, which have generally stood at the head of the masses, have perpetrated one betrayal after another.

It is true that in China, Cuba, and North Vietnam the capitalists have been overthrown. The workers have conquered with a blunted instrument. But in most cases they have lost. And for the major battles to come—particularly in the advanced capitalist countries, where the rulers will use every possible means at their disposal—only the most skillful, honest, and experienced leadership will suffice. Only a party capable of assimilating all the lessons of the past will be able to provide proper leadership for the future.

The nucleus of that party exists today in the organizations comprising the world Trotskyist movement; that is, the Socialist Workers Party in the United States and the Fourth International on a world scale.

I stated earlier that Marxism had established itself with the *Communist Manifesto*. Actually, the revolutionary Marxist current has always had to fight against rival currents in the workers movement, and often under an adverse relationship of forces.

That was the case with Marx and Engels themselves in the First International. That was the case with Lenin, when the Bolsheviks were a tiny opposition in the Second International of the Social Democrats and seemed like a voice in the wilderness. And that has been the case with the Trotskyist movement, which was born in the struggle of the Left Opposition against Stalin in the Soviet Union, and against Stalinist domination of the Third, or Communist, International.

Revolutionists have to expect isolation at times. There are no shortcuts to revolutionary victories.

The progress of the Fourth International has been intimately linked to the progress of the world

revolution. The prevailing conditions at the time of the origins of the Trotskyist movement, a period of defeats and demoralization, precluded any large-scale support initially. Later, the post-World War II reinforcement of Stalinism cut short some new openings that might otherwise have developed. But the rise of the world revolution today is leading to the growth of our movement.

Today, the Stalinists and Social Democrats are becoming more discredited in the eyes of rebels the world over. New currents that have arisen in the past couple of decades—the Maoists, the Titoists, and the Castroists—have been unable to build any viable alternative followings to challenge Moscow's; and they have virtually given up trying. This clears the road a little bit.

The growth of the world Trotskyist movement in recent years augurs well for constructing mass revolutionary Marxist parties.

The Socialist Workers Party

Revolutionists in the United States have a special responsibility, for our ruling class is the most powerful and the most ruthless that has ever existed, and it is our revolution that will ultimately decide the future of humanity.

The stakes are enormous. They are posed before us as the alternatives: socialism or barbarism; socialism or nuclear devastation; socialism or the destruction of the environment of the planet we live on.

Thus, the development of the Socialist Workers Party in the United States is particularly important. We are still small; but in this country we do not have to confront a mass Communist or Social Democratic party. Already we are stronger than most other radical groups, and well-placed to build a large party as the situation opens up.

We are small today, but we are optimistic because our ideas are the ideas of the future; they are the ideas that can and will win a majority, that will inspire the oppressed and exploited millions, for the first time ever, to take their destiny in their own hands.

We are still a small nucleus of the mass revolutionary party that must be built. But we Trotskyists are the essential nucleus, for we are the ones who remain true to the principles put forward by Marx and Engels and Lenin, and that embody the worldwide experience of revolutionary experience over decades.

That is what it means to be a member of the Socialist Workers Party today, and to take on the tasks, the responsibilities, and the glory of participation in it. And that is the most important thing for SWP members and supporters of our party to keep in mind at this May Day meeting.

And for those of you here who are not yet members of the SWP, it is reason enough to join. As the words of the revolutionary song—the "International"—put it: 'tis the final conflict; let each stand in their place.

Join with us in that grand undertaking first proposed by Marx and Engels 126 years ago. Working people of all countries unite. You have nothing to lose but your chains. You have a world to win!

Los Tres win partial reversal of frame-up

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—A significant partial victory was won in the case of Los Tres del Barrio May 13 when a three-judge panel of the Ninth Circuit Court of Appeals in San Francisco reversed convictions on one of three counts against all three defendants.

The reversal reduces the sentence of Rodolfo Sánchez from 40 to 15 years and that of Juan Fernández from 25 to 10. Alberto Ortiz's sentence remains at 10 years.

Los Tres were victimized because of their activities in La Casa de Carnalismo, a community organization that was fighting drug traffic in the barrio here. Casa Carnalismo had played a militant role in the 1970 Chicano Moratorium antiwar demonstrations and previously in the Chicano high school blowouts. The federal and local governments concocted a plot to destroy this emerging radical force.

Fernández, Sánchez, and Ortiz became the victims of this plot when they were entrapped in July 1971 by a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer. They were convicted on charges of robbing a custodian of federal monies, assault of a federal officer, and conspiracy to assault a federal officer.

The May 13 ruling reversed the conviction of robbing a custodian of federal monies (the so-called Jesse James Act) on the grounds that it can only be applied to Post Office personnel.

The defense appeal is demanding a reversal on all three of the frame-up counts. Their argument rests on several bases, any of which is sufficient to throw the convictions out of court.

For one thing, Los Tres were victims of entrapment. For another, their trial was a mockery of justice. The presiding judge had not allowed the defense to present evidence that the government, including the FBI, had interfered with the defense through infiltration, surveillance, and intimidation of witnesses.

The defense was not allowed to present evidence of Los Tres' previous antidrug activities to counter the prosecution's lies that they were police

killers interested in securing the drug market for themselves.

In an interview with *The Militant*, defense attorney Antonio Rodriguez explained that, in its present ruling, the three-judge panel conceded there was misconduct by the prosecution in the trial but refused to overturn all the convictions on those grounds.

The judges also expressed "concern" that the defendants could be convicted of conspiracy to assault a federal agent, even though the agent himself testified at the trial that, as far as the defendants knew, he was a pusher.

Although the judges were too timid to establish a precedent by overturning the conspiracy conviction, they indicated in their written decision that there is legal basis for further appeal.

This gives the defense a strong basis for demanding a hearing before the entire Ninth Circuit Court. If justice is not secured there, the case can be taken to the U.S. Supreme Court.

The first partial victory in the case was won last November when the defendants were finally granted bail pending appeal. Once out on bail, Los Tres were able to speak publicly about their case, which was a boost to the defense effort. However, a setback was suffered this past April when their right to travel was undemocratically restricted by the courts to the state of California.

Despite such moves, Los Tres are pressing the fight. Defense attorney Rodriguez credited the victories won so far in the case to the pressure built up by the defense campaign to win mass support through rallies, petition drives, and speaking tours.

The National Committee to Free Los Tres has called a rally here for June 29 to demand that all charges be dropped. To support the work of the committee, write 4400 S. Huntington Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032. Telephone: (213) 223-3471.

Michigan unions support CLUW

DETROIT—The newly formed Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW) recently won the endorsement of the Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council and the Michigan Federation of Teachers (MFT).

The state teachers' convention, meeting in Detroit May 3 and 4, adopted unanimously a resolution in support of CLUW. The resolution states that the federation "endorses and supports the Coalition of Labor Union Women, and encourages union members to become involved in its activities," and further, "encourages its affiliated locals to invite Coalition speakers to local meetings."

The resolution also directed that the resolution be submitted to the national convention of the American Federation of Teachers in August in the name of the MFT with a recommendation for similar action.

The resolution was introduced by the Wayne County Community College Federation of Teachers, AFT Local 2000.

The Metropolitan Detroit AFL-CIO Council, the central labor body representing hundreds of AFL-CIO locals, adopted unanimously a resolution in support of CLUW at its meeting on April 17.

This resolution, like the one passed by the MFT, pledges the support of

the AFL-CIO Council to CLUW and encourages its members to get involved in its activities. It also encourages affiliated locals to invite CLUW speakers to local meetings. The resolution further directs the council to transmit the resolution to the Michigan AFL-CIO and recommends support.

The resolution was introduced by Paula Reimers, delegate from AFT Local 2000.

The passage of these resolutions of support opens new opportunities for CLUW in Michigan. It will enable CLUW to reach out through the union structure to the thousands of union women who did not attend the founding convention of CLUW in March.

Seattle union women organize

By PAT BETHARD

SEATTLE—Union women from more than 15 unions met at Seattle City Light Auditorium May 22 for the second organizational meeting of the Washington Coalition of Labor Union Women (CLUW). The 50 women listened to a tape of the address made at the founding national CLUW conference by Addie Wyatt of the Amalgamated Meat Cutters union.

Washington state representatives at the national conference, held last March in Chicago, then answered questions about the conference and the steps necessary to form a local chapter.

It was announced that several union locals here have already endorsed CLUW. These include locals of the Communications Workers of America, the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees, the Retail Clerks union, and the Washington State Federation of Teachers.

Other unions that have not yet met to discuss formal support for CLUW but have members who are actively helping to establish a local CLUW chapter include the Machinists and Aerospace Workers, Culinary Workers, United Farm Workers, Newspaper Guild, Flight Attendants, and Service Employees.

Women at the meeting joined committees to continue the reach-out campaign and to plan a Washington state conference. Committees were also set up to work on each of the four major action areas established at the CLUW national conference: organizing the unorganized, affirmative action, political action and legislation, and participation of women within their unions.

Jan van Pelt, coorganizer for the Western Washington Support Committee of the United Farm Workers of America, introduced a resolution in support of the UFW boycott of grapes, lettuce, and Gallo wines. After two Teamster women spoke out in support of the resolution, it passed unanimously.

WASHINGTON, D.C.—"Working Women and Sex Discrimination" was the theme of the May 9 meeting of the Metropolitan D.C. Area Coalition of Labor Union Women. The meeting featured a panel on sex discrimination attended by 80 women. Caucus meetings to discuss the specific problems of women in each of the unions then took place.

Further meetings are scheduled.

Maoists disrupt Iranian defense

By MARK HARRIS

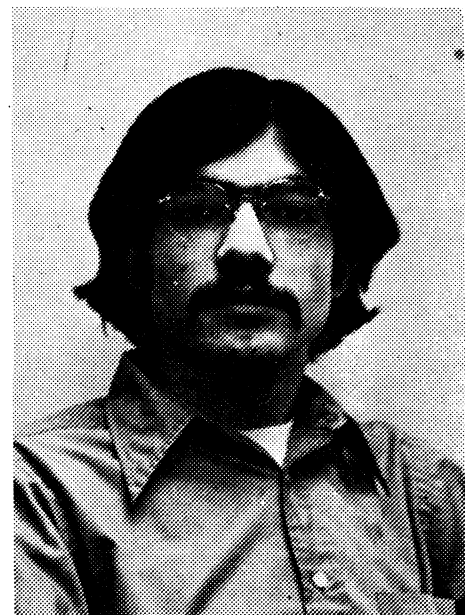
CARBONDALE, Ill.—Babak Zahraie, a spokesman for the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran (CAIFI), addressed a meeting of 110 students here at Southern Illinois University on May 13. His speech described the history of repression in Iran and the current plight of political dissidents there.

Zahraie talked about the efforts of CAIFI to publicize and gain support for the cases of Reza Baraheni, Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, and a group of 12 artists, filmmakers, and writers accused of a kidnapping plot.

Reza Baraheni is a well-known Iranian writer and poet who has defended the rights of oppressed nationalities in Iran. He was arrested in the fall of 1973 and subjected to torture and threats against his family. As a result of a broad, international defense campaign on his behalf, he was released after three months. However, his life is still in danger, and efforts are being made to allow him to leave the country.

Another important case is that of Vida Hadjebi Tabrizi, a sociologist and researcher at the University of Tehran, who was arrested in July 1972. After being tortured she was sentenced to eight years imprisonment by a secret military court. The charges against her have never been made public.

The 12 artists, writers, and film-



Militant/Michael Baumann

Babak Zahraie of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran.

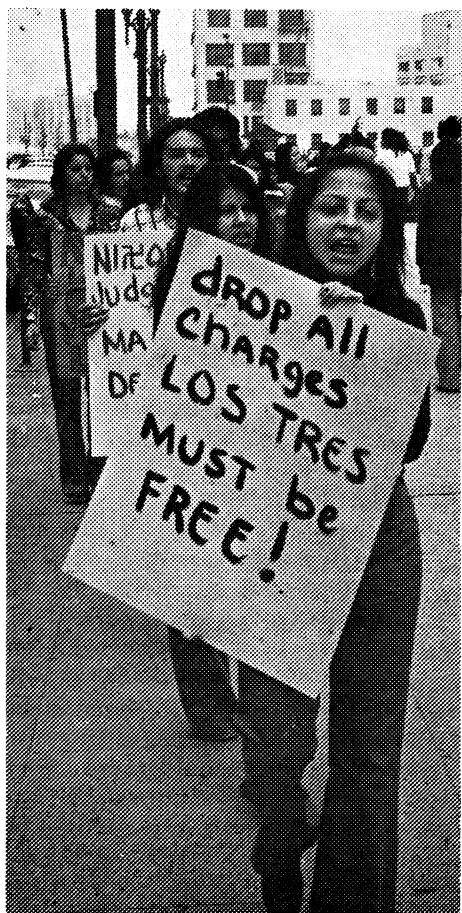
makers were arrested in the fall of 1972. One year later, they were accused of plotting to assassinate the shah and kidnap three members of the royal family. Two of the 12, Karamet Daneshian and Khosrow Golsorkhi, were executed in February. The rest received prison terms of from three years to life.

Zahraie's meeting here was the first stop on a nationwide tour he is making for CAIFI to win support for these cases.

Unfortunately, this important defense effort was hampered by the disruptive actions of a group of Iranian Maoists who attended the meeting here.

During the discussion period, the Maoists took the floor to condemn the work of CAIFI. One of the Maoists claimed that three defendants in the case of the 12 Iranian artists are SAVAK agents—Iranian secret police.

Continued on page 26



Militant/Miguel Pendas

Los Tres defense demands that all three frame-up counts be dropped.

Twin Cities protests hit AIM frame-ups

By GREG CORNELL

ST. PAUL, Minn. — Supporters of the Wounded Knee defendants rallied again in the Twin Cities to protest the frame-up trials going on in Minnesota and South Dakota.

Students and Indian supporters rallied outside the student union at the University of Minnesota May 22 in a two-hour protest. Estimates of the crowd size ranged from 700 to more than 1,000.

About 175 persons picketed the federal building in St. Paul May 24. Demonstrators chanted, "Custer, Wounded Knee, Drop the charges now!"

Organized during the last week before final exams, the protests underline the continued vocal opposition to the trials of Dennis Banks and Russell Means, the two American Indian Movement leaders who face a 10-count federal indictment for their role during the Wounded Knee seizure last year.

"We must continue the fight," Banks told the picketers, "whether through the courtroom, mass demonstrations, or through actions like Wounded Knee."

At the university two days earlier, students at the protest rally applauded enthusiastically when John Truedell, national chairman of AIM,

told them: "There is a criminal trial being conducted. But the criminals are the FBI, which has lied and suppressed evidence. The criminal is the American judicial system."

Truedell said Indians want "complete control" of their reservations. He said the government was "piling charge upon charge against our people."

Also appearing at the rally was St. Paul Mayor Larry Cohen. Cohen said Indian treaties were still being broken. "The word justice has little meaning for American Indians," Cohen told the crowd.

Russell Means focused much of his speech on the Symbionese Liberation Army. He said the establishment press had whipped up hysteria against the SLA. He observed that the news media had also been used to "psych up America" to make Indians appear as terrorists at Wounded Knee.

"The news media doesn't want to see Indian people get our rights," Means said. "They just want to see us bloody."

He asked for continued help in the case during the summer months, which he said is traditionally a difficult time to raise funds, and urged support for the AIM boycott of South Dakota tourism.

Defense attorney William Kunstler described Banks and Means to the crowd as "two men innocent of all crimes."

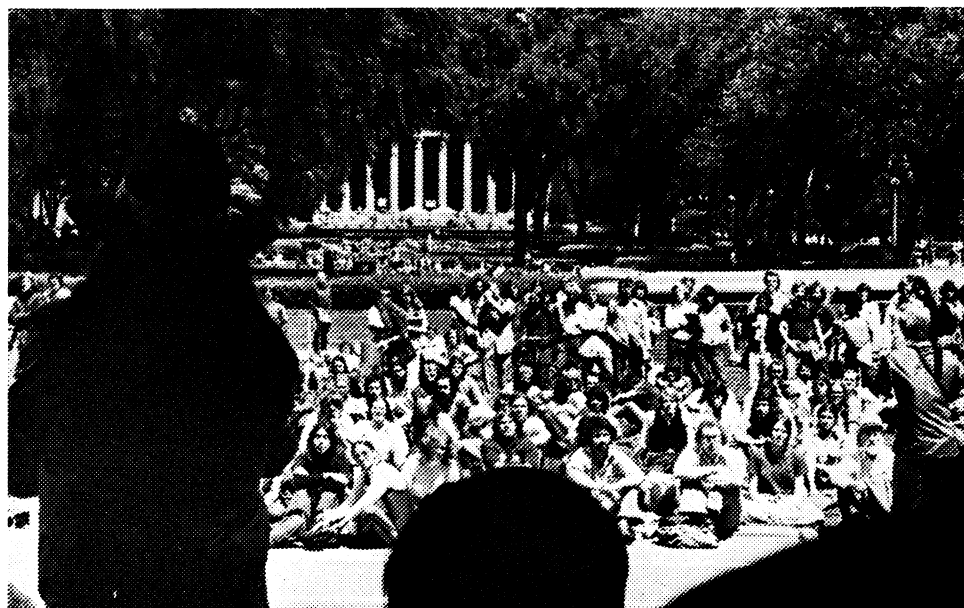
He termed it a "paradox" that the two face such long prison terms when the Watergate defendants are being let off by the courts or are receiving very light sentences.

Kunstler also spoke of the recent bloodbath in Los Angeles, where police killed six suspected members of the SLA.

"The SLA will be shot down in the streets before any trial takes place," Kunstler predicted.

Jane Van Deusen, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, told the crowd that it was "absolutely necessary" to construct a broad defense effort that involves all those concerned with the protection and maintenance of civil liberties. She urged those in the crowd to oppose the Wounded Knee frame-ups and "the vicious attacks on the rights of Indians."

In other developments last week, Stokely Carmichael, former Black student leader, appeared in St. Paul



University of Minnesota rally

Militant/Greg Cornell

in solidarity with the Wounded Knee defendants.

Also, William Kunstler told *The Militant* that he has spoken twice with the attorney for former White House aide John Dean.

Kunstler said he has asked Dean's lawyer if Dean had any conversations in the White House or executive office buildings about Wounded Knee, and who was present at the meetings.

Until a response comes from Dean, the date when the White House must produce any Wounded Knee tapes is postponed. Judge Fred Nichol had originally ordered President Nixon to produce in court May 28 any tapes of discussions he had on Wounded Knee.

Defense attorney Douglas Hall told *The Militant* that the final draft of a motion was being prepared asking for additional documents from the government, including any plans of intelligence operations against AIM.

As has become apparent during the trial, now entering its sixth month, FBI surveillance of AIM has been widespread. Any contention by the government that overall plans for surveillance and interference did not exist should be considered an out-and-out fabrication.

At a regional conference in Cumberland, Wis., May 24-27, AIM vowed to press the boycott of South Dakota tourism as well as to mount a cam-

paign against strip mining in North Dakota, Montana, and Wyoming.

The Maple Plain Indian Reservation, which hosted the AIM conference, voted to restructure itself under the umbrella of AIM, Banks said.

"It's the first federally based AIM operation," Banks told *The Militant*.

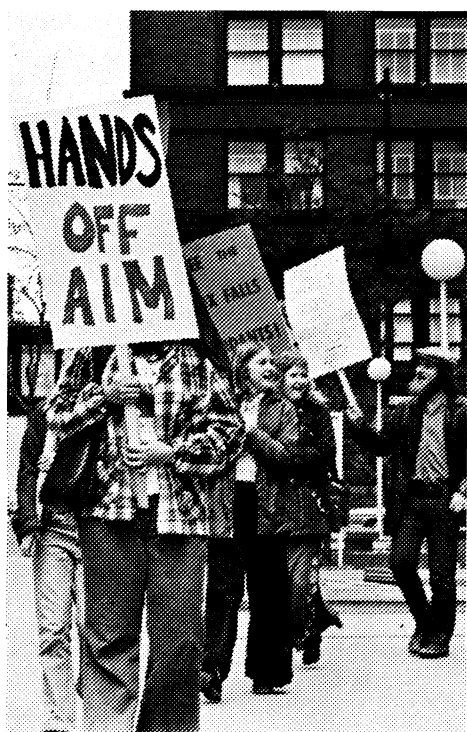
The boycott of South Dakota tourism was called after Indians were bloodily beaten a month ago in a Sioux Falls courtroom. The Indians had refused to stand for Judge Joseph Bottum, who has handed down a number of arbitrary and patently racist rulings. Four Indians and a white are on trial in that case.

Means said the purpose of the boycott is to "cripple the tourism economy, which has made millions of dollars annually on Indianism."

Banks described as "Indianism" such practices as luring tourists to view Indian graves and burial grounds, as well as watching Indians at work in jewelry shops—"all these kinds of publicity stunts South Dakota is used to."

AIM is now gearing up for an international treaty convention it will hold on the Standing Rock Sioux Reservation near Mobridge, S.D., June 8-16.

Banks said AIM has invited to the convention congressmen, attorneys who are international treaty experts, students who are concerned about Indian rights, and some representatives of foreign countries.



Picket line in St. Paul, Minn.

Militant/Mark Allen

California cop kills Chicano for 'stealing ham'

By FROBEN LOZADA

UNION CITY, Calif. — It's true a ham costs a lot of money these days. But it still takes cops to say they were justified in killing a man because, according to them, he stole a ham. And even the cops might be a little embarrassed about offering such a reason for killing a man if he didn't happen to be a Chicano.

Albert Terrones, 30, was shot dead by John Minor, a Union City cop, the night of April 19.

Minor was put onto Terrones by two supermarket clerks who claimed he had stolen a ham. Minor's story is that he fired a warning shot at Terrones, then Terrones pulled a knife, leaving no alternative but to kill him.

The first story was that Minor shot Terrones because he looked like the man who killed Gina Angelo, a murder victim here. But the cops couldn't make that stick and they don't mention it anymore.

Union City is mainly a Chicano

community, and the people have suffered a lot at the hands of the police. They regard the killing of Terrones as murder. They are also outraged that the city council, without even bothering to check out the facts, announced it considered the police killing "justifiable."

On May 16, community activists called a meeting to demand action on this killing. More than a hundred people came, including representatives of a number of local community organizations.

The meeting approved four demands: 1) A grand jury investigation of the killing; 2) Immediate suspension of Minor pending outcome of a grand jury probe; 3) Creation of a civilian police review board; 4) No use of taxpayers' money to defend Minor.

On May 20 the city council met again. More than 150 people from the community attended, demanding that the council act. It refused to do so

and repeated its stand that the killing was "justifiable" homicide.

Chester Córdova is a longtime Union City resident who is heading the Committee for Justice for Albert Terrones.

Córdova told *The Militant* that at the first meeting where the killing was discussed, members of the council admitted that all they knew about it was what they read in the newspaper.

"They didn't know what happened, but they were willing to sign a statement that it was a justifiable homicide," Córdova said bitterly.

He said the Union City police have a long record of brutality against Chicanos. They figure Chicanos have no money and no way of fighting back.

"We're all aware of what it takes to convict an officer of anything," he said. "It takes the word of Jesus Christ—and we're in no position to contact Jesus Christ."

The city council backs the cops in

anything they do, Córdova said.

"I can say that for myself. I experienced some ass-beating from eight of them. I received 18 stitches on my head from what I got after I was handcuffed. I was beaten all the way down to the police station and at the police station. So I'm talking from experience."

"We feel the city council isn't for the people," he continued. "I mean not for the Mexican. They're for any kind of developer, anybody who has a pocket full of money. They'll listen to those kinds of people."

Córdova said his committee is trying to mobilize the broadest possible support in the community. They welcome help from other Chicano organizations and any others interested in fighting this kind of racist oppression.

The Committee for Justice for Albert Terrones can be contacted at 33320 Sixth St., Union City, Calif. 94587.

'Best response ever'

Drive to place SWP on ballot moves ahead

By CINDY JAQUITH

In their first week of petitioning to get the Socialist Workers Party on the ballot, SWP campaign supporters in Texas and Missouri report "the best response ever."

"Our petitioners say they have never found it so easy to get people to sign," said Susan Ellis, SWP ballot coordinator in Texas. "Watergate has made voters much more willing to help put socialists on the ballot."

The Texas SWP is aiming to collect 50,000 signatures on nominating pe-

titions to qualify Sherry Smith, SWP candidate for governor, and the full socialist slate for the November ballot. As in every other state, socialists and other independent candidates must comply with undemocratic election-law requirements, set by the Democrats and Republicans, to win a spot on the ballot.

"We're well ahead of schedule," Ellis reported. "Petitioners brought in 36,273 signatures by the end of the first week, well over the 25,000 we had projected."

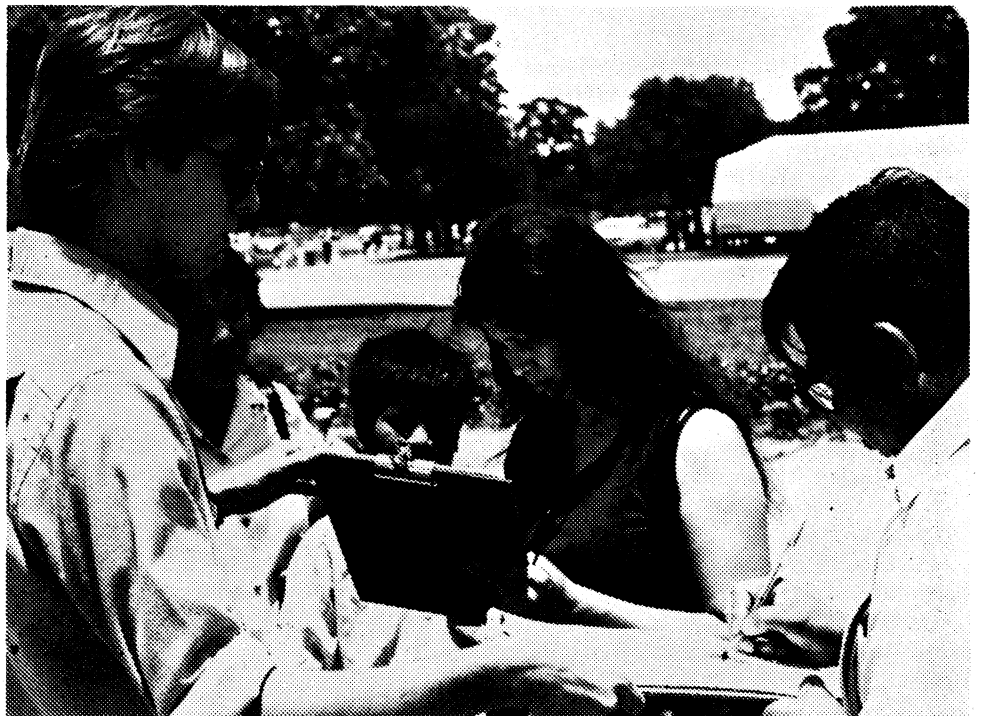
Although the bulk of the Texas signatures have come from Houston, thousands have also been collected in Dallas, San Antonio, and Austin. Successful news conferences announcing the ballot drive were held in each of these cities.

The top Texas petitioner thus far is Bill Rayson, SWP candidate for land commissioner, who has brought in 2,121 names.

In Missouri, the socialist ballot drive has received extensive coverage in the media. This is the first time the SWP has petitioned to get on the ballot in the state. The socialists are shooting for 25,000 signatures to place Barbara Mutnick, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate, on the ballot. A total of 6,680 were collected in the first weekend.

Both the Kansas City *Star* and the St. Louis *Post-Dispatch* ran articles announcing the ballot drive. Kansas City TV stations also reported on the petitioning campaign.

Elizabeth Jayko, SWP ballot coordinator, told *The Militant* that many young people are especially enthusiastic about Mutnick's candidacy because she is opposing Senator Thomas



Militant/Nelson Blackstock

Don Sorsa, SWP candidate for state representative in Texas's 90th District, collected 1,123 signatures on petitions in first week of drive.

Eagleton (D-Mo.), who is noted for his reactionary anti-abortion views.

"In the Black community, many people have signed our petitions because they know the SWP has been active in defending J. B. Johnson, the young Black man imprisoned here on a phony murder charge," Jayko said.

Petitioning drives are also under way in Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. Campaign supporters in Massachusetts are in the final push of their drive to collect 66,500. "Many people who have signed comment that they voted for the SWP in 1972 or 1973," reports ballot coordinator Margaret

Scott.

Pennsylvania petitioners are also aiming for a huge signature total—65,000. The Pennsylvania drive went into full swing this week with a special volunteer team of petitioners canvassing on a full-time basis.

On June 8 the Illinois SWP campaign will begin its petitioning drive. Already, the state's undemocratic election laws have become an issue in the campaign of Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U. S. Senate.

Heisler's opponents, incumbent Democrat Adlai Stevenson III and Re-

Continued on page 26

Socialist summer school

Participants in the socialist ballot drive and other SWP campaign supporters will be attending classes on socialism this summer in more than 20 cities.

Among the topics to be studied in the socialist summer schools are the role of the Black liberation movement in the coming American revolution; socialist strategy in the trade unions; and the lessons of the Russian revolution for today.

The summer educational series will also discuss the origins and nature of Stalinism; the history of the Fourth International, the world Trotskyist organization; and Marxist economic theory.

To find out about the socialist summer school nearest you, contact the Socialist Workers Party or Young Socialist Alliance in your area. See the Socialist Directory on page 26.

Campaigning for socialism

PHILADELPHIA CAMPAIGN STREET RALLY: The six o'clock news on WCAU-TV May 18 zeroed in on Roberta Scherr, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of Pennsylvania. "I urge everyone here to come over to the socialist campaign table and pick up a copy of *The Militant*, the socialist newsweekly," said Scherr, holding up a *Militant* in front of the camera.

"Ms. Scherr and her party blame both the Democrats and Republicans for Watergate," said the newscaster. The socialists "are in the process of collecting 44,000 signatures to place

their candidates on the Pennsylvania ballot."

At the SWP street rally, held in downtown Philadelphia, 166 copies of *The Militant* and *Young Socialist* were sold. Twenty people attracted to the rally endorsed Scherr's campaign.

This rally was part of a day of campaign activities, with six teams setting up SWP literature tables around the city. A total of 329 *Militants* and 194 *Young Socialists* were sold in this way.

SWISS READ ABOUT SOCIALIST CAMPAIGN: The May 7 issue of the *Geneva Tribune*, the second largest newspaper in Geneva, Switzerland, featured the Socialist Workers Party campaign prominently in an article on the Washington, D.C., "home-rule" city charter.

The charter was passed by D.C. voters in a May 7 referendum. It was touted by Democrats and Republicans as a step toward home rule, despite the fact that Congress and the president would retain control over all important decisions in the city, which is more than 70 percent Black.

"The Socialist Workers Party . . . is conducting a very active campaign against the charter," reported the *Geneva Tribune*. "One of its leaders, Allan Budka, says, 'The only change being proposed to us is to elect the mayor and the city council rather than have them appointed by the federal government. But what use is it to elect representatives whose power remains so ridiculously limited? It's a farce. . . .'"

The *Tribune* also quoted Budka as saying, "If the District were 70 percent white, it would have been a state long ago. What these people—both Democrats and Republicans—fear but won't admit, is the birth of the first Black state in the U.S."

CINCINNATI SOCIALISTS ACTIVE IN TEACHERS' STRIKE: At a May 18 Socialist Workers Party campaign rally in Cleveland, SWP candidate in the 1st Congressional District, Charles Mitts, spoke on the teachers' strike in Cincinnati.

Mitts is a member of the Cincinnati Federation of Teachers, which has been on and off strike since April. The struggle began over a plan to transfer some Black teachers out of schools in the Black community. The city has now added fuel to the fire by laying off 700 teachers.

Mitts recently spoke at his union meeting in opposition to the plan put forward by Ohio Governor John Gilligan and the Cincinnati board of education. "Their answer," Mitts told the SWP campaign rally, "is to levy an additional tax on the people of Cincinnati. They claim this is the only way to raise funds to rehire the 700 teachers."

"At the union meeting, I proposed taxing corporate profits instead of working people, to end the layoffs, hire more teachers, and build more new schools."

Supporters of Mitts's campaign in Cincinnati's Walnut Hills High School have been active in building the Stu-

dent Committee to Oppose Layoffs. The committee worked with the Teachers union to organize a rally of 500 recently, composed of students, teachers, and community activists, in opposition to the layoffs.

MICHIGAN SOCIALIST DEFENDS RIGHT TO STRIKE: Robin Maisel, SWP candidate for governor of Michigan, testified at recent hearings in Detroit on four new bills concerning teachers' right to strike.

The bills are aimed at forcing teachers, and by implication all public employees, to abandon the strike weapon in the fight for higher wages and better job conditions. The proposed legislation is the response of the Democrats and Republicans to last year's wave of teachers' strikes, highlighted by the 43-day walkout in Detroit.

"This attack on the right of teachers to strike is an attack on all working people," Maisel stated at the hearings. "Watergate has shown that the government, which employs the teachers, is operated in the interests of the major corporations, not the public. The real public interest is served by paying teachers a living wage, by building new schools, and by reducing class sizes."

Other speakers at the hearings denouncing the new bills were Henry Linne, president of the Michigan Federation of Teachers, and Paula Reimers, vice-president of American Federation of Teachers Local 2000.

— ANDY ROSE



Militant/Jon Flanders

Many signed SWP petitions after Roberta Scherr's street rally in Philadelphia.

Newark mayoral race points to failure of Democrats to meet needs of Black people

By DERRICK MORRISON

NEWARK—Democrat Kenneth Gibson's election in 1970 as this city's first Black mayor was met with jubilation by many Black militants. But the same degree of enthusiasm was not recaptured last month when Gibson won a second term in an election battle in which his chief opponent was racist white vigilante Anthony Imperiale, a New Jersey state senator.

In the May 14 election, Gibson outpolled Imperiale 42,870 votes to 34,502.

Imperiale had tried in his campaign to moderate his reputation as a racist in this city, which is more than 70 percent Black and Puerto Rican. He talked of representing "all of the people" and even offered in his speech conceding the election to work with Gibson in the future.

Gibson, despite his references to Imperiale during the campaign as a "tank commander," a "vigilante," and a man who "does not respect" Black people, went along with the state senator's postelection bid. Gibson told reporters he would set up a meeting

with Imperiale "as soon as possible to find out what we can do together to benefit the city."

The Newark *Star-Ledger* declared in a May 16 editorial: "The election itself was revealing in what it has told us about the mood of the city, a perceptible easing of the tense polarization in recent years. It is evident Newark has come a long way from the virulence of the racial disturbances that accelerated its decline."

What the *Star-Ledger* editors meant by the "easing of the tense polarization" is that the needs of the Black and Puerto Rican communities were not brought to the fore in this election campaign. But that is not because they have been solved in Gibson's four years in office.

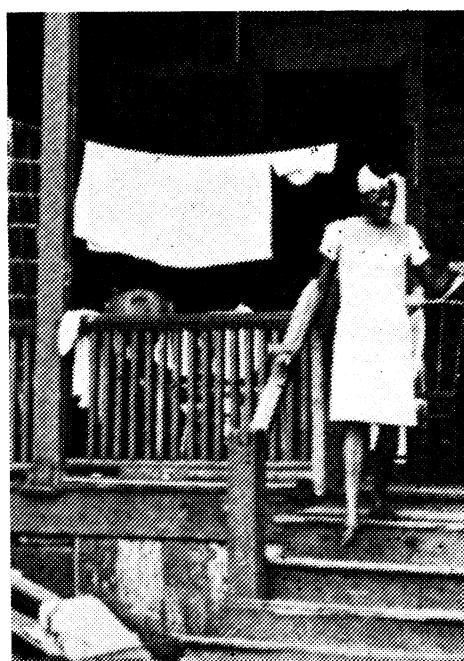
Unemployment, rotten housing, low-paying jobs, and poor education remain critical problems for Newark's Black and Puerto Rican residents. Despite his promises, Gibson has been unable to bring about basic change in the oppressive conditions in Newark.

His failure to carry out programs to improve the lot of the Black and Puerto Rican communities has led to disillusionment among some of the young militants who backed him in 1970. This was reflected at the Jan. 20 City Wide Political Convention, which voted 69 to 29 not to endorse the Black Democrat for another term. The participants even booed Gibson's personal representative off the stage.

The convention drew less than 300 people in all, a sharp contrast to the 1969 Black and Puerto Rican Convention of 3,000, which nominated Gibson for his first term.

The main political force at the Jan. 20 convention were the activists in the Newark chapter of the Congress of African People (CAP), led by Imamu Amiri Baraka. Baraka was a key figure in Gibson's 1970 campaign.

While refusing to endorse Gibson for another term, the convention failed to get at the root of the mayor's inability to meet the needs of Newark residents. His undelivered promises



LNS

Despite Mayor Gibson's promises, oppressive living conditions for Newark's Blacks did not basically change during his first term.

were instead attributed to the majority-white city council and to "bad" advisers.

But in reality, Gibson's inability to alleviate the racist conditions of this city is due to his reliance on the Democratic Party.

Both the Democrats and the Republicans operate in the interests of the bankers, insurance company profiteers, and landlords, who thrive off the oppression of Blacks and Puerto Ricans in Newark. Gibson, or any other Democratic or Republican mayor, is beholden first to the interests of these capitalists, not the majority of people.

And Gibson is himself demonstrating this fact as he takes his distance more and more from the forces around Baraka—the people who helped catapult the mayor into office four years ago.

One sign of the falling out between Baraka and Gibson is the fact that the two are supporting opposing candidates in the city council runoff race

on June 18. Baraka backed a "Community Choice" slate in the May 14 elections. Two candidates on the slate made it into the runoffs.

The Newark police have also begun increased harassment of CAP activists. Just before the National Black Political Convention in Little Rock in March, cops burst into Baraka's house with the wild claim that they had a report of a cop being tortured on the roof. Only Baraka's wife and children were home at the time.

Also in March, seven CAP supporters were arrested on frame-up charges ranging from kidnapping to assault and robbery.

Gibson's failure to even show up at the Jan. 20 City Wide Political Convention was an indication that he felt he no longer needs Baraka's support. The attitude of Baraka toward the mayor, on the other hand, is much less clear.

Unity and Struggle, a newspaper reflecting Baraka's views, declared in its May issue that the race between Imperiale and Gibson was a contest of "the Neo-Fascist versus the Neo-Colonialist." The article went on to say that "we have watched Gibson, the progressive Black mayor, speedily change into Gibson the neo-colonialist. He runs NewArk for the profit of Prudential . . . and other huge corporations that run in and around and through and out of NewArk paying little or no taxes while no housing is built, no education is provided, and no pushers run out of town!"

But after denouncing Gibson, the article winds up urging Blacks to vote for him: ". . . unfortunately, the masses of the people are put in the position that 'we'll have to go for slow (Gibson), or backward (Imperialism) will get in.'"

This "lesser evil" strategy has been tried before and found wanting. The problems facing Blacks and Puerto Ricans in Newark will not be solved by relying on a "lesser evil" in the Democratic Party but by organizing their own power independent of both capitalist parties.



Newark Mayor Kenneth Gibson

Socialists join Con Edison protest in New York

By JANICE LYNN

NEW YORK—As an angry crowd of 4,000 stockholders streamed into the Commodore Hotel for Con Edison's annual meeting May 20, they were met with pickets protesting Con Ed's scheduled rate increases.

The pickets chanted and carried slogans such as "Don't Let Con Ed Con You," "Power for the People, Not Con Ed," "Con Ed Conspires to Make the Rates Go Higher," and "Con Ed on 'Welfare' While Working People Foot the Bill." The demonstrators were also protesting the New York State legislature's decision to purchase two of Con Ed's power plants.

Socialist Workers Party candidates Derrick Morrison, running for governor, and Rebecca Finch, running for U.S. Senate, participated in the protest, along with SWP campaign supporters. Other groups on the picket line included GET Consumer Protection; Harlem Consumer Education Council; Fight Against Con Ed; Women United for Action; Active Consumers Fight Con Ed; Center for United Labor Action; and the Communist Party.

At the stormy stockholders meeting, with an overflow crowd clamoring at the doors, Con Ed's board chairman, Charles Luce, attempted to explain

why the company is suspending payment of its quarterly dividend. This is something it had not done since it started paying dividends in 1885. Luce tried to blame the energy crisis, the rise in fuel costs, high tax bills, and environmentalists for Con Ed's financial problems.

Most of the stockholders attending the meeting were visibly upset, loudly applauding those who called for the ouster of management or the resumption of dividends. At the close of the meeting a stockholder shouted, "Let's impeach Luce!"

Recently Luce informed New York Mayor Abraham Beame that the huge power monopoly faced bankruptcy. In response, the New York State legislature bailed out Con Ed by voting \$500-million to buy two of its power plants.

This \$500-million will come out of the taxes paid by working people.

Far from losing money, however, Con Ed made profits of \$207.7-million last year, according to a report filed with the Public Service Commission (PSC). Most of this revenue goes to pay interest on debts to large banks.

On top of footing the bill for Con Ed's debts, New York consumers face

a proposed 29.3 percent electricity rate hike, and now a 17 percent gas rate hike.

Outraged, many consumers have simply refused to pay their bills. In response to this revolt, Con Ed recently announced it will cut off electricity and gas after two months of unpaid bills, instead of the usual three.

SWP candidates Morrison and Finch were interviewed by nearly all the reporters covering the Con Ed protest.

WABC-TV Eyewitness News showed Morrison explaining to a reporter, "If we take a look at the facts, we can see who really profits from rate increases. We need to know the real story on Con Ed. The Socialist Workers Party calls for a full public disclosure of all financial records of Con Ed."

"If Con Ed can't provide reliable service without constantly jacking up the price," the socialist candidate said, "then the only solution is to nationalize Con Ed and run it democratically by workers and consumers."

The socialist candidates also pointed out that the new rate hikes will be most severely felt in the Black and Puerto Rican communities, which are also the hardest hit by unemployment, rising food prices, and rent increases.

The socialists called for an inspection of Con Ed's books by representa-

tives of the Black and Puerto Rican communities, trade unions, and consumer groups.

"We must rely on our own power and not the promises of the Democratic and Republican politicians to prevent further Con Ed rate increases," Morrison said. "We must continue to build protests to show Con Ed and Governor Malcolm Wilson that we have had enough."



Militant/Jeanne Reynolds

Socialist candidates Derrick Morrison and Rebecca Finch picket Con Edison stockholders meeting.

1,000 demonstrate in Atlanta against police spying and racist terror squads

By JOEL ABER

ATLANTA—One thousand demonstrators, mostly young and Black, marched through the streets here May 27 to protest police brutality and spying.

They carried banners demanding, "Fire Police Chief Inman," "Abolish the Stakeout Squad," "End Police Terror," and "End Police Spying."

The militant crowd marched from Martin Luther King's grave site to the city hall and then to the police headquarters.

Speeches were presented by Hosea Williams of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Vince Egan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor; Ron Carter, former head of the Black Panther Party; and Modibo of the African Liberation Support Committee.

The march was organized on only three days' notice. It followed revelations that the police had planted a spy on the *Atlanta Voice*, the city's largest Black newspaper.

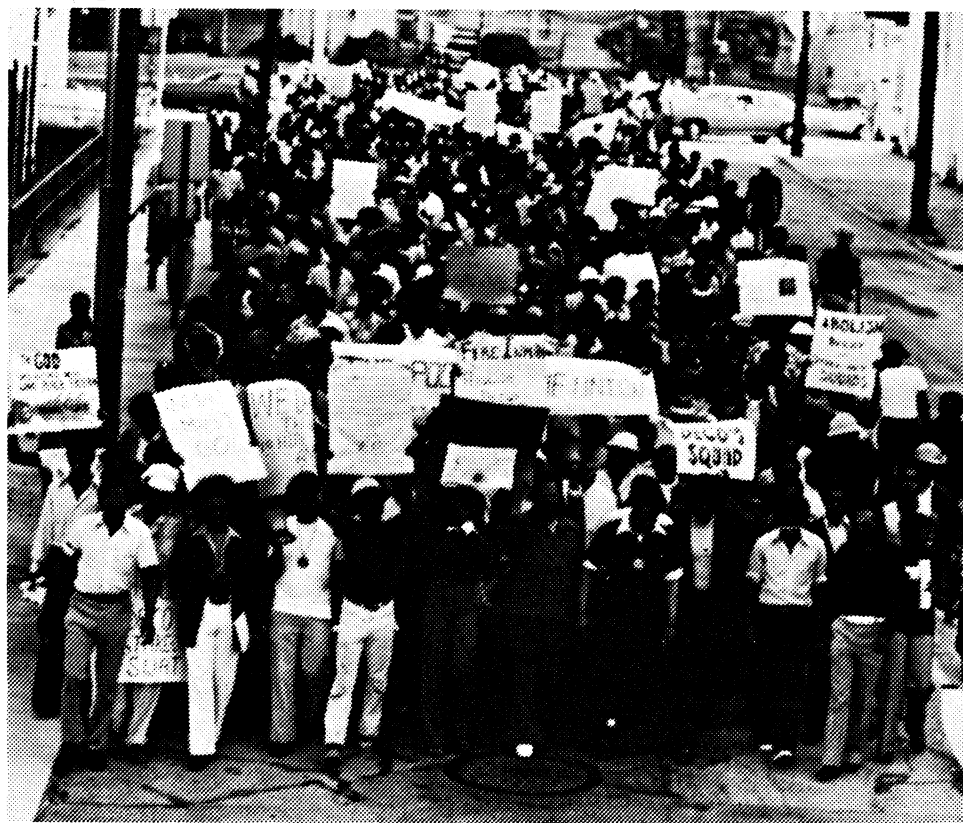
After this unconstitutional surveillance was exposed, the cops tried to justify it with a ludicrous story about looking for a connection between the *Voice* and the Symbionese Liberation Army.

At city hall, demonstrators cheered their approval of a letter to Mayor Maynard Jackson, a Black Democrat. The letter demanded that Jackson immediately evict Chief Inman from office instead of waiting for the courts to remove him.

The demand to fire Inman, a notorious racist, was raised last year in protests against cop killings of Blacks. When Jackson was elected mayor last November, he left Inman in office and claimed he would reform the police by appointing a "superchief" or public safety director over Inman.

Jackson finally fired Inman May 3, only after Atlanta cops killed two more Black men and it was evident that potentially explosive anger was building up in the Black community. Inman, however, refused to step down.

On May 6 Atlantans were treated to the spectacle of an armed confrontation between the ousted Inman and his designated replacement, Captain Clinton Chafin. On Inman's orders, 25 SWAT (sharpshooter) squad cops brandishing rifles kept Chafin out of



May 27 protest in Atlanta.

Militant/Derrick Morrison

his office in police headquarters. Inman then got a temporary court order restraining Jackson from removing him.

In his desperation to settle the affair quietly, Jackson has offered Inman a deal: a do-nothing job as police chief emeritus until 1980, with a total salary of \$180,000 for the six years.

Meanwhile, a city council committee has been holding public hearings on the killings of Lloyd Wheeler, 21, and David Jack, 19, by the police decoy-stakeout squad.

Although not asked to testify, David Jack's relatives flew down from Michigan to speak before the council committee May 7. "My brother was killed by a hollow-point bullet," Larry Jack told the council members. "I served in Vietnam, and even there they wouldn't permit the use of hollow-point bullets."

David Jack's father was trembling as he addressed the council members: "They shot my son down like a dog. My son died in a gutter. It was cold-blooded murder. Why is the officer who killed my son not in jail? Why?"

A moment of stunned silence followed. Then chairman Carl Ware re-

plied: "We're sorry about your son. But this is a legislative body. You'll have to take that up with the grand jury."

The hearings began because Jack's killing was too much even for two stakeout cops. Detectives Willie Barnes and F.H. Sutton said Jack had taken a fake roll of bills from decoy cop R. L. Durham, who was posing as a wino. As Jack ran away, Durham shot him in the back.

Barnes and Sutton said the cops never identified themselves as police. Jack was unarmed.

Asked why no warning shot was fired, Sutton testified: "It is department policy. Officers are suspended for one to five days if they fire a warning shot. We're told to shoot to kill or wound."

Barnes testified that his superior officers lied in the homicide report by claiming Jack was shot in the chest. James Harris, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Congress from Georgia's 5th District, was the first person to testify at the city council committee hearing on May 14.

In a face-to-face confrontation with

committee chairman Carl Ware, a Black Democrat, Harris demanded to know whether the committee intends to abolish the decoy-stakeout squad.

Harris got no answer. Ware apologetically said the committee was "really sincere" in its investigation. The other committee members remained silent.

Three of the seven on the committee are former civil rights activists: James Bond, brother of well-known Georgia legislator Julian Bond; the Reverend Arthur Langford of the Free for All Baptist Church; and white minister Charles Helms. Now all three are Democratic Party politicians.

A parade of small businessmen and police officers followed Harris to the stand, trying to rebut his call for abolition of the stakeout squad.

One Black cop said, "We've heard from the Socialist Workers Party, but my views represent the Black community better than theirs. I speak for the victims of robberies."

A Dairy Queen manager boasted of how he had blown out the brains of a robber. He, too, said he spoke for victims, not criminals.

Harris came to the stand again. "It makes me sick to my stomach to hear these men talk about victims," he said. "Twenty-one people have died at the hands of cops, 20 of them Black. The police who shot them are criminals. The 21 people are victims! The Black community is the victim!"

The 50 spectators burst into applause when Harris concluded.

It is evident that Mayor Jackson's belated and halfhearted attempt to fire Chief Inman is merely a sop to the outrage in the Black community. At a May 14 news conference, Jackson asserted that the stakeout squad and other special police units must stay. A "superchief" and better training, he claimed, would eliminate the "excesses" of these units.

Jackson's real view of the role of the police is indicated by the candidates being interviewed for the position of "superchief." Top contenders include Army Major General Frederick Davidson, the first Black commander of a major combat brigade, who gained his fame at the height of the Vietnam war; and John Lindquist, head of the International Police Academy, which

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Finch hits N.Y. council defeat of gay rights bill

By LEE SMITH

NEW YORK—Supporters of civil rights for homosexuals plan a continuing campaign to mobilize support for Intro 2, a gay civil rights bill, despite its defeat in the New York city council May 23.

The Gay Activists Alliance and National Gay Task Force are among those who have declared they will continue to fight for passage of Intro 2, which would ban discrimination against gay people in employment, housing, and public accommodations.

Rebecca Finch, Socialist Workers Party candidate for U. S. Senate from New York, denounced the council vote as "flagrant disregard for gay civil rights" and "another display indicating in whose interests the Democratic and Republican party politicians are really acting."

The Democrats and Republicans, Finch pointed out, "have kept this bill bogged down in committee since 1971." Throughout that time, gay organizations and other groups demonstrated and lobbied in support of its

passage. It was finally voted out of committee this spring.

The balcony gallery of the council chambers was packed during the three-hour debate May 23 by vocal supporters of the bill.



Christopher Street Liberation Day demonstration last year. Gay rights bill, formerly Intro 475, became Intro 2.

However, the final vote tally—19 for, 22 against, and 2 abstentions—showed that the majority of the council was listening to other voices.

A reactionary coalition spearheaded by the New York Archdiocese of the Roman Catholic Church had busied itself in the month before the council vote mustering opposition to Intro 2. A front-page editorial in the official Archdiocese newspaper branded the civil rights measure a threat to family life.

Holy Name Societies, Knights of Columbus, conservative veterans organizations, the police department, and the Uniformed Fire Officers Association joined in a hysterical drive to defeat the bill.

The Fire Officers called for a mass demonstration on April 30, but only a handful turned out. The lobbying campaign, however, was sufficient to cow the city council. As SWP candidate Rebecca Finch pointed out, "Democratic and Republican party city council members put their own interests in getting reelected this November

ahead of basic human and civil rights for gay people."

After the vote on May 23, about 90 supporters of Intro 2 sat in at St. Patrick's Cathedral, demanding a meeting with Cardinal Cooke. All but two of them left after meeting with an aide of Cooke.

Councilman Carter Burden, who originally introduced the bill in 1971, has said he will reintroduce it.

Finch stated, "The Socialist Workers Party calls for the immediate passage of Intro 2 in New York City. We unequivocally support all measures to end discrimination against gay people."

"We join with those who are rallying in support of gay civil rights to show the city council that this bill must be passed. We must conduct a major publicity campaign to counter the lies and slanders that have been coming from opponents of this measure."

"The Socialist Workers Party will join with others in this kind of campaign and I pledge my full support to ensure that this struggle continues."

...Gary Atwood tells how political views

Continued from page 28

another veteran friend tried to join the Veterans of Foreign Wars, with an idea of staging a "guerrilla theater" protest.

"Being in theater, he was thinking along lines of utilizing it in such ways," Gary said. However, this never occurred. In June, Bill and Emily Harris took an extended trip to North Africa.

Gary had begun to read some works of Marx and Lenin, although without any particular commitment at that time.

"The Harrises came back in December," Gary recalls. "Bill decided to go to graduate school. Emily moved back to Chicago, and Bill moved in with Angela and me, as we had an extra room."

Conscientious objector

"About that time, I had begun to deal with the Army, because I knew my number would soon be called in the new lottery system. I had decided that I would not go into the Army, and was working on a statement of my views that I felt would be in line with a recent decision broadening the definition of a conscientious objector.

"We had many discussions about what I should do. Bill's position was that under no circumstances should I go. It didn't occur to any of us that the best course would be to go into the Army and present my antiwar views there.

"At the same time, Angela was beginning to become conscious of sexist oppression and used to get into arguments with Bill, because she felt he didn't treat her as an equal. She also read Engels on the family, which put Bill somewhat on the defensive. Bill never read very much in Marxist works, at that point.

"Bill was angered by the ferocious stepped-up bombing in Vietnam and continued to follow the war closely.

"In March, I had to take my pre-induction physical. We decided that



Study of Russian revolution helped convince Gary Atwood that perspective of Lenin and Trotsky was correct. Above, Bolshevik meeting in Petrograd, 1917.

I would try to get out by explaining an injury to my right ear. But I was classified as OK to be drafted.

"Shortly after the physical, I finished my statement applying for conscientious objector status. We had further discussions. My father visited us and also joined the argument. I had made the decision that my first choice was conscientious objector status. If I didn't get it, I would choose either prison or go to Canada.

"Angela was for going to Canada, but Bill was opposed, feeling that would be a cop-out. He said I could organize in prison. My father was opposed to applying for CO status at all, and thought that prison was more honorable.

"We had all wanted to go to the April 24, 1971, and subsequent May Day antiwar actions in Washington. For some reason I don't remember, only Bill went.

"At about this time, Bill began reading the *Guardian*, but didn't associate with any group. I continued to study Marx."

Angela and Gary were married in

May. Right after they were married, Gary heard from his draft board that he had been granted CO status.

Russian revolution

During that school year, Gary had taken two courses in Russian literature. With his characteristic thoroughness, he decided that he had to understand the political and social background to the literature, and this led him to read Trotsky's *Literature and Revolution*, which made a positive impression on him.

From this, he read Gorky, and Gorky's letters to Lenin led him to read more of the Bolshevik leader. At the same time, Angela's reading of Engels led him to read that Marxist master also.

From this reading, he found himself supporting the Bolsheviks. "I used to have arguments with Bill about the Bolsheviks," Gary told me. "Bill knew very little about the Russian revolution. He took a course on the Cuban revolution and read Guevara and Debray. At this time, he began to discuss ideas of 'armed struggle.' He

passed on Guevara's books and Debray's to me; I read the former but never got to the latter until later.

"I was still interested in the Bolsheviks and talked to Bill about Trotsky. He hadn't read any Trotsky, and only a little Lenin. He never studied Lenin.

"That summer Emily came to Bloomington, and the Harrises moved in next door to us. Emily was beginning to radicalize, and she and Angela had discussions on women's liberation. I was somewhat backward on this, and Bill accepted it more quickly than I did.

"There was a group of gay people who lived upstairs, and they would have discussions with us about the discrimination gays suffer. Bill, although not gay, became involved in supporting a picket against a bar that discriminated against gay people."

Gary had decided to quit school that June and take his alternative service in the San Francisco Bay Area. He and Angela moved there, while the Harrises stayed in Bloomington.

Gary began working in a neighborhood community center as his alterna-

'...capitalist system is responsible for violence'

Continued from page 28

Consequently I have had to initiate inquiries on my own at a time when, needless to say, I would have preferred to withdraw.

But withdrawal has not come easily for me, neither at this present painful time, nor during those anxious moments over the past few months when the suspected persons of the SLA came into public attention.

On the contrary, because of my wife and my former friendship with Emily and Bill Harris, a sustained campaign of harassment by the FBI against myself, family, and friends has ensued.

In many cases people with relationships five and six times removed from even the acquaintanceship of my wife have been interrogated and harassed. This has proceeded despite the fact that the FBI knows full well that I was separated from my wife and have been living in Indiana attending the university since the summer of 1973.

This harassment, however, is only part of a larger concerted effort to direct intimidation against my ideological position as a Marxist socialist and my political participation in the Young Socialist Alliance. The YSA, as the government well knows, rejects terror-

ist tactics like those imputed to the SLA.

The revelations about the undemocratic nature of capitalist rule in this country that have resulted from Watergate, and the release of documents concerning the FBI's "counterintelligence programs" instituted for disruptive purposes against left organizations—including the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance, the Black Panther Party and other Black groups—point out the extent to which the FBI and other police authorities work to uproot the democratic rights and fundamental freedoms of all Americans.

Now, as the FBI is updating the list of "subversive" organizations, there should be little wonder that they will seek to utilize the methods of the SLA as "justification" for surveillance and repression. This is one of the most unfortunate aspects of isolated actions of groups like the SLA, which have historically, time and time again, failed to end poverty, racism, war, and other injustices that spring from capitalism and its ruling mechanisms.

Finally, I would like to draw attention to the ruthless, coldhearted attempts to brand the SLA as victims of their own violence. This is a further contrivance to draw mass consciousness away from the moral responsibility of the upholders and manipulators of the capitalist system which is responsible for violence, be it in Vietnam or Los Angeles.

There has been much speculation with regard to the elusive and complex nature and motives of the SLA. I am not in a knowledgeable position to offer suggestions for any better understanding other than what they chose to explain themselves.

However, I am compelled to speak up for the personal character of both my wife, Angela, and the Harrises, whose images have been obfuscated and confounded by the petty and false newspaper accounts.

Angela De Angelis, Bill Harris, and Emily Schwartz were to find, like so many others who emerged from the radicalized 1960s, that their desires for radical social change were frustrated by the trivia, ugliness, and absurdity of their lives and the lives of so many so much worse off than themselves. They refused to accept the bleak assumption that life *must* consist of waiting for things to change. In turn they totally committed themselves to creating an experience they thought would determine the beginning of an end to a racist, oppressive, undemocratic order.

But they did not realize that the isolated actions of a small group—however dedicated, courageous, and self-sacrificing—can never substitute for the action of the masses in their millions and tens of millions, which alone can bring about a new society, a socialist society in which violence will have become a thing of the past.



'Attack showed contempt of police for both the people in the house and residents in the Black community.'

of SLA members evolved

tive service, and Angela got a job at the Bank of America. She also was taking a "free university" course in Marxism. The teacher's position apparently was that Marx was outdated, and this led to arguments between Gary and Angela about Marx. Personal problems grew between them, and they separated for a time.

Gary and Angela got back together at the end of the summer, and in the fall, the Harrises came to the Bay Area and lived with them. Over the summer, Bill had worked with the Angela Davis defense committee in Bloomington. Gary and Angela moved to Berkeley, while the Harrises remained in Oakland.

Union activities

Angela got a job as a waitress, and this led her into union and strike activities, as a strike was then in progress. All members of the union had picket duty. "Angela had worked for her father in the Teamsters union office in Paterson, N.J.," Gary explained, "and she was an efficient organizer."

"Together with the Harrises we also began to do some work in support of the farm workers. Bill had a job with a private mail delivery service, and he began to go to union meetings. Our discussion then began to include union matters."

After the terrorist action carried out by Black September at the Olympic games in Munich, they had an argument. Gary characterized the action as politically unwise and as "terrorist." Bill thought that while he had reservations, it was a generally positive action that should be characterized as "armed propaganda" and not "terrorist." Bill said such actions were a means of calling attention to the plight of the Palestinians.

"I couldn't convince him," Gary said, "that my disagreement with this action did not mean that I did not support the Palestinians. Bill kept classifying me as a 'petty-bourgeois intellectual.'"

"I would refer to lessons of the past, to the regressive line of past terrorist movements, and kept trying to get him to read Lenin. He would answer that I was an 'intellectual.'" Angela didn't participate in this discussion, but Emily was opposed to the Black September action.

'Armed propaganda'

For a time, Gary worked in a private school in Chinatown. This led him to learn more about China and to read Mao. Bill had gone to some classes given by the Venceremos Brigade and showed Gary some of their literature.

Later, Bill began to attack Trotsky with arguments he got from Maoist sources. He said that all of the Marxists, in which he included Stalin and Mao, were OK, except Trotsky.



May 1970. Angela De Angelis and Gary Atwood first became politically active during massive antiwar upsurge.



U.S. troops torture Vietnamese. SLA's actions are frustrated and ineffective response to imperialists' terrorism.

"Bill kept pushing more and more the concept of 'armed propaganda' and 'armed struggle.' Angela was adamantly opposed to these ideas. Bill was developing a concept of 'praxis' as against 'theory.'"

"Discussion of union questions was dropped," Gary continued. "On the question of Trotsky, my position at that time was that Trotsky and Mao had many similarities. I also agreed with Bill that a 'strategy of armed struggle' was applicable to the colonial countries. But our discussions became more heated."

"I decided that I would go back to Indiana University to complete some school requirements, and then come back to Berkeley to continue my studies. Angela wanted to stay in Berkeley, to continue her union work and her participation in a women's liberation organization."

Young Socialist Alliance

"I came back to Bloomington in August of last year and never saw my wife or the Harrises again. When I arrived on campus, two farm workers in California had just been killed. I was angry and went to a farm workers meeting on campus. There I met some members of the Young Socialist Alliance for the first time."

"I went to some YSA classes, especially one on the coup in Chile. The coup had had a big effect on me. These educationals were very timely for me, for they were about revolutionary strategy. They related to many of the things I had been arguing about with Bill Harris."

"I also took a class in Marxism at the university, and two YSA members were in it. The three of us tended to dominate discussion in the class, and this also brought me closer to the YSA. I began to read, under encouragement of the YSA, more of the works of Trotsky, and others, such as James P. Cannon."

"Angela and the Harrises talked to me by telephone, and we corresponded. They were working with prisoners in defense of Popeye Jackson, a leader of an organization of former prisoners, who was facing frame-up charges. Angela was also continuing her activity in women's liberation groups."

"Angela and I agreed we did not want to get back together. I still heard from her and from Bill after that. When I told Bill I was going to YSA classes, he told me that the YSA was a case of the blind leading the blind. In retrospect, this comment tragically applies to the SLA."

"From what I could tell, Angela and the Harrises had joined with some people I didn't know in a sort of 'encounter group' where they discussed

personal and political problems.

"I began reading *The Militant* as well as the *Guardian*, although I preferred *The Militant*. I had also read Trotsky's *Transitional Program* by this time."

"I continued to have discussions with YSA members about armed struggle. I still was trying to find some place for a 'strategy of armed struggle' that would somehow complement the *Transitional Program*. Over time, the YSA convinced me of the Marxist position on this question, against individual terrorism or any attempt to substitute the actions of a small group for mass action."

Through these discussions, Gary became aware that the debate between Leninism and petty-bourgeois "urban guerrillaism" was international in scope and embraced wide layers who had been inspired by the revolutionary victory in Cuba.

Escalating rhetoric

"In the meantime," Gary continued, "the rhetoric of Angela and Bill began to escalate. In August they had sent me a pamphlet called *Politics and Guns* that had a 'pick up the gun' line."

"As the fall went on, I became more and more opposed to her and Bill's ideas on 'armed propaganda' and actions by isolated groups. So our polemics became even more heated."

"The rhetoric of Angela's letters was very similar in tone to those Patty Hearst has sent to Stephen Weed. I decided I didn't want to go back to Berkeley in December."

"I had received leaflets they were putting out, espousing the line of the gun. My last big argument with them was over Christmas, by telephone. I discussed the leaflets they had been sending me."

"By that time I knew about the tragic experience of the ERP in Argentina and had been convinced by the YSA on individual terrorism. I tried to talk to Angela and Bill about Trotsky and Stalin, but it was like talking to a brick wall. They knew none of the history."

"On the question of 'armed propaganda,' I explained how futile their ideas were. I told them of past historical experience where people who had attempted to put such concepts into practice inevitably ended in failure. The actions of such groups in the past had only ended up jeopardizing the whole left."

"At that point, Angela hung up on me. I received one more letter from her in January, full of invective, charging I was a 'sellout.'"

Working more closely with the YSA in January, Gary decided to join the revolutionary socialist movement in February of this year.

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FBI admits spying on Arab-American

By DAVE FRANKEL

The FBI and Justice Department admitted in federal court May 21 that they had been carrying out an intensive program of surveillance against Detroit lawyer Abdeen Jabara.

Jabara is a founder of the Association of Arab-American University Graduates (AAUG) and edited a newspaper called *Free Palestine*, which supported the Palestinian struggle against Israel. He has been a frequent speaker on the Middle East.

In a telephone interview with *The Militant*, Jabara explained that it took a court order to get the government to admit that he was not under "a continuing investigation for criminal activity." The explanation given by the government was that it used "lawful national security electronic surveillance . . . to obtain foreign intelligence information."

The disclosures came as a result of a suit filed by Jabara in October 1972. In the suit, which was inspired by widespread incidents of harassment and intimidation of Arab-Americans and Arab students in the U.S., Jabara demanded an injunction against government interference with his constitutionally protected rights.

The government admitted 29 separate incidents in which it used wiretaps or other electronic equipment to monitor Jabara's conversations between Oct. 9, 1972, and Nov. 16, 1973. In addition, it noted 23 events its surveillance had covered. These included the convention of the Young Socialist Alliance held in Cleveland in November 1972, at which Jabara spoke on a panel discussing government harassment of supporters of the Palestinian struggle.

In addition, Jabara said, the surveillance covered Militant Forums, conventions of the AAUG, and campus meetings sponsored by the Organization of Arab Students. Also cited was a meeting held to discuss the possibility of placing a referendum against the war in Vietnam on the Detroit ballot.

Among the most ominous disclosures was the fact that the government admitted nine separate occasions when it received information about Jabara from Jewish, Zionist, or Israeli organizations. Although the government was ordered by the court to name these groups, it failed to do so.

Jabara is an endorser of the suit that has been filed by the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance to put a stop to this kind of illegal surveillance. He pointed out that the disclosures in his suit are an indication of how widespread this type of government secret policy activity is.

The material surrendered so far by the government will be studied to see if it can lead to further disclosures. In the meantime, Jabara is adding a new aspect to his suit. In addition to asking for an injunction against the government's illegal surveillance, he is demanding damages.

Bukharin & the Russian revolution

Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution by Stephen F. Cohen. Alfred A. Knopf. Westminster, Md., 1973. 495 pp. Cloth \$15.

By George Breitman

One advantage that today's students of revolutionary politics have over their predecessors of the 1930s is the greater availability of Marxist literature in English. The list of Marx's works in English is much longer than it was 40 years ago, and almost every year brings valuable additions, of which the *Grundrisse* is the latest. The current Moscow edition of Lenin's *Collected Works* in English is considerably bigger than previous editions (although it is still not complete). By next year, when Pathfinder Press's *Writings of Leon Trotsky* series should be finished, everything Trotsky published during his last exile will be in English. And these are only a few examples.

Not in the same category, but related to it, has been a vast expansion of academic literature about the revolutionary movement and the men and women who participated in it. Most of it is of limited value, much is so tendentious that it is worthless, but some is quite useful for the critical reader who can separate wheat from chaff.

One of the better books of the latter type is *Bukharin and the Bolshevik Revolution* by Stephen F. Cohen. Cohen, a young professor at Princeton, has produced a serious work of scholarship, whose positive features outweigh its negative ones and make contributions to the study of the Russian revolution of 1917 and its aftermath.

Its strong sides derive in part from the fact that it is not written in accord with "the prevail-

Books

ing view that Stalinism was the logical, irresistible outcome of the Bolshevik revolution." This gives Cohen's book an enormous advantage over those of the many procapitalist and Stalinist writers who agree, for different reasons, that Stalinism is the inevitable continuation of Leninism.

Cohen wants to help restore Nikolai Bukharin (1888-1938) to his rightful place in history. The aim is justified because Bukharin was one of the more important leaders of the Bolshevik Party that led the first successful workers' revolution, and because the Stalinists not only killed him but, starting almost a decade before that, buried his name and role under an avalanche of lies and slanders.

In the book we follow Bukharin from 1906 when the 18-year-old middle-class student joined the Bolsheviks in Moscow shortly after the defeat of the 1905 revolution, through his first arrest in 1909, and his emigration from Russia that was to last from 1911 through the overthrow of tsarism in 1917. In these years of exile Bukharin deepened his Marxist education, became one of the Bolsheviks' most able propagandists, and first made contact with Lenin.

The subsequent stages of his career are presented in greater detail: editor of *Pravda* after the revolution; leader of the "Left Communist" faction in 1918; member of the Politburo; ally of Stalin in



Bukharin (right) with Stalin. Bukharin's capitulation to Stalin helped the bureaucracy consolidate its power.



Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang butchers massacre peasant and worker rebels in 1927. Bukharin, as head of the Communist International, helped carry out policy that led to this tragic defeat of Chinese revolution.

the fight against the Left Opposition and chief author of the government's policies during that alliance; head of the Communist International, 1926-29; leader of the Right Opposition that briefly opposed Stalin (1928-29) and then capitulated to him; and defendant in the 1938 Moscow trial that sentenced him to death for alleged counter-revolutionary activity on behalf of the fascist powers.

Auxiliary role

In his preface Cohen says, "All biographers ought to resist overstating the importance of their subject." But he doesn't always succeed in following his own advice. While Bukharin was an important figure, especially in the second half of the 1920s, his role was primarily auxiliary, and not as central as Cohen makes it appear. His tendency to overstate Bukharin's importance is understandable, given the Stalinists' distortions and the historians' neglect. But the main weakness of the book comes not from the author's overstatement but from his political failure to evaluate Bukharin and Bukharinism accurately.

The most important thing Bukharin ever did was join Stalin in crushing the Left Opposition, led by Leon Trotsky, which was fighting for internationalism and proletarian democracy. This created the conditions for the definitive triumph of the bureaucracy and its subsequent destruction of the Bolshevik Party as a revolutionary instrument. Bukharin privately deplored some of the methods used against the Left Opposition, but he accepted them and lent them his authority as an Old Bolshevik, which was exceptionally useful to Stalin after Zinoviev and Kamenev broke with Stalin in 1925.

Cohen does not try to conceal Bukharin's role in this crucial turning point. He reports it, although less fully than it deserves. He tells why Bukharin thought or said he was doing the right thing, and he points out some of the flaws in Bukharin's reasoning. But because he is hobbled by his own thesis that the central conflict in the 1920s after Lenin's death was between Stalin and Bukharin, and not between Stalin and Trotsky, he minimizes and understates Bukharin's responsibility for the victory of the bureaucracy.

The most common ways of obscuring or missing the truth are through misrepresenting or omitting the facts. Cohen neither misrepresents nor omits. The main problem with him is the problem of wrong emphasis. Political conclusions are blurred when the important and the not-so-important or even the trivial are all presented on the same plane or given equal weight. As a result, some readers of Cohen's book are likely to come away from it with an inadequate appreciation of Bukharin's most serious mistakes and therefore of his real place in history.

Another unsatisfactory part of the book is its treatment of Bukharin's capitulation to Stalin in 1929 after the Right Opposition was defeated in the Soviet leadership. Bukharin renounced his ideas, "confessed" that the Stalinists were correct,

and accepted minor posts in the service of the bureaucracy until the time when Stalin demanded his death. It was a demoralizing example to the many who looked to Bukharin for leadership and, despite Bukharin's intentions, facilitated the consolidation of Stalin's dictatorship.

Cohen stresses the pressures on Bukharin and his (secret) oppositional feelings, expressed in the Aesopian language of some of his writings. The effect is almost to make Bukharin's capitulation seem natural or inevitable, as though there had been no alternative. But there were thousands of Oppositionists, Right as well as Left, who suffered the same pressures as Bukharin, or even greater, and who never capitulated. It is their tradition, not Bukharin's, that is followed by today's Soviet dissidents.

Sometimes Cohen falls into the trap of trying to build up Bukharin by tearing down other figures in the Bolshevik Party. Trotsky is frequently a victim of this method, but even Lenin does not escape.

In his pre-1917 disputes with the young Bukharin, Lenin is presented as cantankerous, unreasonably suspicious, and intolerant of Bukharin's "independence." It is not that Cohen omits discussion of the political differences that divided them at that time—for example, over the national question, when Bukharin was supporting the fatally wrong position taken by Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin was defending the self-determination position that was indispensable for the Soviet conquest of power a few years later. No, Cohen scrupulously describes these political differences, but again the emphasis is unbalanced; the political differences aren't given the same weight as personal factors, and the whole point of the dispute will be lost for most readers, instead of serving as an example of Lenin's superior insight.

The real Bukharin

In recent years Bukharin has begun to attract the attention of historians and radical writers who are repelled by Stalinism but would like to avoid coming to grips with Trotskyism by embracing a less irreconcilable alternative to Stalinism. The real Bukharin may get lost in the process. After these decades of oblivion, he deserves better than that.

Like most leaders of the Soviet right wing of the communist movement in the 1920s and 1930s, Bukharin was a sincere revolutionary who dedicated his life to the workers' cause but succumbed to the pressures of capitalism and imperialism and bore part of the responsibility for the victory of the counterrevolutionary Stalinist bureaucracy (which, by the time of Bukharin's execution, had moved far to the right of the right wing). The great goals to which Bukharin committed himself in his youth can best be served by remembering him as he was.

It would be nicer if all books that have good features would be free of bad ones. But that happens seldom, so readers have no recourse but to develop their critical faculties.

Militant sales campaign

Interest keen in eyewitness Portugal coverage

By ROSE OGDEN

Militant salespeople report selling 7,285 copies of the May 24 *Militant* (front-page headline: "Portugal in revolt"). The highest sales were on the campuses and in the Black, Puerto Rican, and Chicano communities. Interest was especially keen in *The Militant's* on-the-scene report on developments in Portugal following the coup.

Chicagoans sold 231 at three colleges and point out that this is the most they have sold on campuses in any one week of the spring campaign.

Central-East Los Angeles salespeople sold 150 at community colleges and a technical school. Many of these sales were to Black students concerned with the revolt in Portugal. And Pittsburgh supporters sold 177 on the University of Pittsburgh campus.

Sales also included 194 in Brooklyn's Black and Haitian communities; 115 in Harlem, sold by members of the Upper West Side, N.Y., Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance; and 158 and 187 sold by Chicago and Portland supporters respectively in the Black communities in their cities.

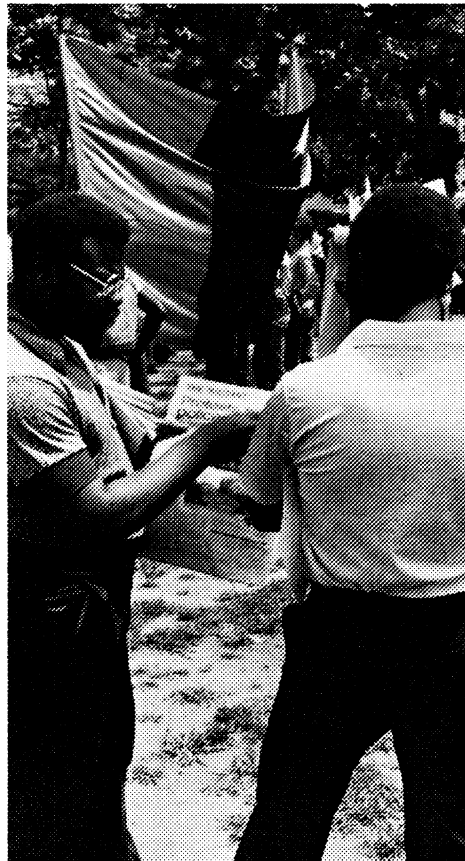
Detroit supporters found a good response to *The Militant* at the African Liberation Day demonstration held here. One hundred copies were sold.

Portland SWP campaign activists made *Militant* sales an integral component of SWP campaign activity in a recent local election.

Teams were dispatched from the campaign headquarters armed with *Militants*, copies of the *Young Socialist*,

and campaign literature. Supporters went to high schools, workplaces, downtown shopping areas, and the Black community.

Philadelphians made their goal for the seventh week in a row. Like Portland, they attribute their success to



Militant/Maceo Dixon

Andrew Pulley, national chairman of Young Socialist Alliance, selling *The Militant* on African Liberation Day.

combining sales with campaigning for the SWP candidates in their city. On one Saturday campaign day, they sold a total of 520 *Militants* and YSs.

There is one week remaining in *The Militant's* spring sales campaign. The high point of the drive was reached with sales of the May 17 issue, which surpassed 15,000 — 150 percent of our 10,000 goal. Supporters had chosen that issue as a special target week to meet the national goal because some areas would be involved in petitioning to place SWP candidates on the ballot during the final two weeks of the campaign.

Supporters in Massachusetts, Texas, and Missouri are now involved in these extensive petitioning drives. These three areas have had to cut back on their normally high sales to devote their time to collecting the signatures required for ballot status.

Many *Militant* supporters are participating in the socialist summer schools taking place around the country. Central-East Los Angeles SWP sales director Byron Ackerman reports that their Saturday morning class series has proved to be a good kickoff for afternoon sales. In fact, sales went so well after the first class that they met their goal for the May 31 issue several days ahead of schedule.

New bundles are being sent this week to readers in Wichita, Kans.; Little Rock, Ark.; Indiana, Pa.; and King City, Calif. Other readers who want to sell *The Militant* in their cities this summer should send in the coupon on page 27.

Scoreboard

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	%
Philadelphia	400	464	116
Seattle	425	480	113
E. Lansing	40	43	108
Detroit	450	480	107
L.A. (Central-East)	350	372	106
Pittsburgh	375	384	102
Portland	325	328	101
Amarillo	5	5	100
Bowling Green, Ohio	50	50	100
Chicago	700	700	100
Indianapolis	10	10	100
Louisville	15	15	100
Nashville	60	60	100
Wallingford, Conn.	30	30	100
L.A. (West Side)	350	345	99
Ann Arbor	35	34	97
Upper West Side (N.Y.)	475	434	91
Washington, D.C.	400	361	90
Athens, Ga.	35	30	86
Ossining	25	21	84
Cleveland	350	279	80
Brooklyn	450	343	76
Oakland/Berkeley	800	540	68
Twin Cities	350	218	62
Lower Manhattan	500	282	56
Atlanta	500	231	46
San Diego	325	144	44
Denver	450	158	35
San Francisco	525	163	31
St. Louis	325	66	20
Houston	500	95	19
Boston	700	120	17
TOTAL SOLD LAST WEEK	10,000	7,285	73

...behind reactionary strike in Northern Ireland

Continued from page 3

ties and by the Catholic politicians in the Northern Ireland Assembly as a first step on the road to the reunification of Ireland, is actually nothing of the kind. Composed of 14 members appointed equally from the governments of Eire and of Northern Ireland, the functions of the Council were left undefined; moreover, all decisions of the Council must be unanimous.

Even while holding out this phony concession to the nationalist population, the British government reaffirmed its rationale for maintaining the division of Ireland. London insists that as long as the proimperialist Protestant majority in the North opposes unification, it will back them. This violation of the right of the Irish people as a whole to determine the future of the country, without interference from British imperialism, was endorsed by the Dublin government.

In January the Northern Ireland Executive began its term, with the majority of seats held by the so-called moderate Unionists. At the head of the new executive was Brian Faulkner. Faulkner was the prime minister of Northern Ireland until the introduction of direct British rule in 1972. It was under his administration that the pogroms against the nationalist ghettos took place in 1969 and that internment was introduced in 1971.

But the bulk of the Protestant ruling class in Northern Ireland has chosen to fight a rearguard action to preserve its privileges in their old form. In January Faulkner lost control of the Unionist Party that he previously led, and in March, 11 of the 12 Northern Irish seats in the British House of

Commons were won by right-wing Protestant opponents of the Sunningdale agreement.

The right-wing strike began after the Northern Ireland Assembly voted May 14 to approve setting up the Council of Ireland. The specific demands of the strike—for the scrapping of the Council of Ireland and the holding of new elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly—would result in the end of the Sunningdale agreement.

But much more was involved. The strike was against the idea that the nationalist community should have even a token say in governing Northern Ireland; it was for the restoration of the Protestant ascendancy in its old form.

The strikers, organized in the Ulster Workers Council and paramilitary groups such as the Ulster Defense Association and the Ulster Volunteer Force, succeeded in shutting down most electrical power, industry, and transport in Northern Ireland. The British threatened to use the 16,500 troops in Northern Ireland to break the strike. But the policy they actually implemented was to make concessions to the Protestant reactionaries while trying to wait them out.

Even before the fall of the Stormont government, London had stated that the Council of Ireland was no longer a policy commitment on its part, but a matter to be decided between Dublin and Belfast. In addition, it was announced that the Council would not be set up in any case until 1977 or 1978, following new elections to the Northern Ireland Assembly.

Richard Eder reported in the May 22 *New York Times*, "There has been



BRIAN FAULKNER: Headed Northern Ireland during internment and anti-Catholic pogroms. Hailed by British as a 'moderate.'

a notable swing in moderate Protestant opinion in the last few days in favor of a more flexible attitude by the British." And indeed, it was the resignation of Faulkner and his fellow soft-cops from the Northern Ireland Executive May 28 that finally gave the reactionaries in the streets the victory they wanted.

The dilemma faced by the British is that the collapse of Sunningdale will still leave them with the problem of gaining the collaboration of enough

of the Catholic population to make a stable government possible. London is limited in how far it can go against the right-wing Protestants, however, because they are the basis for its rule in Northern Ireland.

The only solution to the impasse, from the point of view of the whole Irish people, is the removal of the British troops and the reunification of Ireland. The opposition of the loyalists to this is not based on any threat that they would be oppressed in a united Ireland. They are in the same position as the settlers in Rhodesia or Israel: they want their own state in order to maintain their privileged position in relation to the oppressed Catholic population. Although London wants a moderation in the forms of oppression and domination in order to make the nationalists more manageable, it supports the basic situation.

The biggest danger in Northern Ireland now is that the loyalist bigots, emboldened by their victory, will attempt to push their advantage further.

If the British government decides the best course is to give in and placate their rebellious partners, it may go one step further and encourage a pogrom in hopes of finally quelling the resistance in the Catholic ghettos. This has been the traditional method of holding down the nationalist population in Northern Ireland. It was the method used by the British during the Irish war of independence in 1919-1921, and it was this method that enabled them to stabilize the situation in Northern Ireland in the years following the partition.

Calendar

CHICAGO

RALLY TO SUPPORT SOCIALIST WORKERS FIGHT FOR BALLOT STATUS. Speakers: Peter Camejo; Ed Heisler, SWP candidate for U.S. Senate from Illinois; Willie Reid; Marcos Munoz, state director, United Farm Workers; Walter Chesser, chairman, Milwaukee Black Masses Party; Jack Walker, vice-president, American Federation of Government Employees Local 1395. Sat., June 8, 8 p.m. 428 S. Wabash, Fifth Floor. Donation: \$1.50. Ausp: Illinois Socialist Workers Party Campaign. For more information call (312) 939-0756.

HOUSTON

HISTORY OF THE ANTIWAR MOVEMENT. Speaker: Fred Halstead. Fri. and Sat., June 13-14, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose, Second Floor. Donation: 75 cents. Ausp: Socialist Workers 1974 Campaign. For more information call (713) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES: CENTRAL-EAST

JOIN THE SOCIALIST CANDIDATES ON PRIMARY NIGHT, JUNE 4. Refreshments, TV election returns. Meet: Mariana Hernandez, Socialist Workers Party candidate for superintendent of public instruction; Tank Barrera, for sheriff; Olga Rodriguez, for governor. Tues., June 4, 7 to 11 p.m. 710 S. Westlake Ave. Donation: 50 cents. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (213) 483-1512.

LOS ANGELES: WEST SIDE

THE SLA & THE POLICE ATTACK ON THE BLACK COMMUNITY. Speakers: Stu Singer, Socialist Workers Party; other. Fri., June 7, 8 p.m. 230 Broadway, Santa Monica. Donation: \$1. Ausp: West Side Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 394-9050.

PITTSBURGH

WOMEN AND MADNESS. Speaker: Ruth Getts, Socialist Workers Party. Fri., June 7, 8 p.m. 304 S. Bouquet St. (in Oakland). Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (412) 682-5019.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

SOCIALIST SUMMER SERIES. Black liberation and socialism. Mon., June 3, 7:30 p.m.: Leninism and Black self-determination; Thurs., June 6, 7:30 p.m.: Black slavery and capitalism. 1345 E St. N.W., Fourth Floor. Donation: 50 cents. Ausp: Socialist Workers Campaign Committee. For more information call (202) 783-2391.

...Maoists

Continued from page 17

He based his assertion on the fact the these three received sentences of only three years.

The same Maoist speaker also argued that CAIFI should be carrying out defense activities for all 25,000 political prisoners in Iran, rather than focusing on specific cases.

Zahraie explained that CAIFI's efforts to focus attention on several well-

known Iranian figures, and to mobilize support for their rights, is the most effective way to dramatize the plight of all the victims of the shah and to bring public pressure to bear on the regime.

The Maoists also denounced the Committee to Defend Babak Zahraie. This committee won an important victory for the rights of foreign students in 1973, when it forced the U.S. Immigration and Naturalization Service to drop its attempt to deport Zahraie because of his political views.

Many in the audience were outraged at the sectarian, destructive role played by the Maoists during the meeting. It was clear that the disrupters made their plans well in advance, going to the extent of bringing supporters from as far away as Texas, Indiana, and Chicago.

To support the work of the Committee for Artistic and Intellectual Freedom in Iran, write the committee at 309A Low Library, Columbia University, New York, N. Y. 10027.

...ballot

Continued from page 19

publican George Burditt, are trying to freeze the Socialist candidate out of campaign debates. They argue that since Heisler is not yet on the ballot, they don't have to debate him.

"This just shows what the real purpose of the election laws is," Heisler commented. "They are used by the Democrats and Republicans to avoid the challenge of independent candidates like myself. Burditt and Stevenson will not be able to keep the socialist campaign from the public, however, because my supporters intend to meet and surpass the ballot requirements in Illinois."

On May 18 Heisler confronted his two opponents in Rockford, Ill., where WREX-TV was televising a Stevenson-Burditt debate. When Heisler's request to join the debate was refused, the socialist called his own news conference right at the TV station. Seven reporters showed up to hear about the SWP campaign and the undemocratic election laws.

Illinois law requires the SWP to file 25,000 signatures for its statewide

slate, and another 9,000 to win ballot status for Willie Reid, SWP candidate in the 1st Congressional District. To be assured of a place on the ballot, the SWP will gather 43,000 signatures for the statewide slate and 15,000 for Reid, or a total of 58,000.

To kick off the drive, a campaign rally will be held June 8 in Chicago. Speakers will include Peter Camejo, a national committee member of the SWP; Marcos Muñoz, Illinois director of the United Farm Workers; Walter Chesser, chairman of the Milwaukee Black Masses Party; Jack Walker, vice-president of the American Federation of Government Employees Local 1395; Ed Heisler; and Willie Reid.

(The May 31 *Militant* reported an incorrect figure for the collection at the May 18 petitioning kickoff rally in Houston. The amount collected was \$4,847.)

...Atlanta

Continued from page 21

trains the notorious political police for dictatorships such as Brazil.

Vince Eagan, Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor, demands that stakeout, SWAT, and all other special police terror units be immediately abolished. He insists, however, that this is only a first step.

"The present police force," Eagan states, "must be removed from the Black community and replaced by a force selected from and responsible to the community."

"The capitalist police force can never be reformed to protect the rights of working people, Black or white. It is designed to protect the interests of the rich, including breaking strikes against businesses that deprive workers of a decent living. It is designed to protect the white rulers of Atlanta against Black people demanding control of our own lives."

In the midst of the present furor, a decoy squad precipitated yet another shooting incident, wounding three Black youths and arresting seven on May 10.

"It is more obvious every day," Eagan stated, "that the Democratic city administration, with its schemes for better training, will not stop the shootings or abolish the decoy squad. Only

the independent mobilization of the Black community will be able to force an end to these hated police terror units."

...Africa

Continued from page 7

eration" involving the colonies. Such a referendum could also be used by the Portuguese to lay the basis for a white-settler-dominated regime.

It would also legitimize Portuguese power to affect the character of any "independent" government by making sure it didn't touch Portuguese and other imperialist holdings.

All of this can only lengthen the time of continued direct or indirect rule over the African colonies by Portugal. It can only increase the danger of continued Portuguese military intervention under the guise of safeguarding "proper" elections.

The only way to further the interests of the struggle against Portuguese colonialism is to demand the immediate and unconditional withdrawal of Lisbon's troops from Mozambique, Guinea-Bissau and the Cape Verde Islands, and Angola. This is the only way to recognize the right to self-determination of the African peoples and to end the suffering caused by Portuguese colonialism.

Socialist view on Watergate

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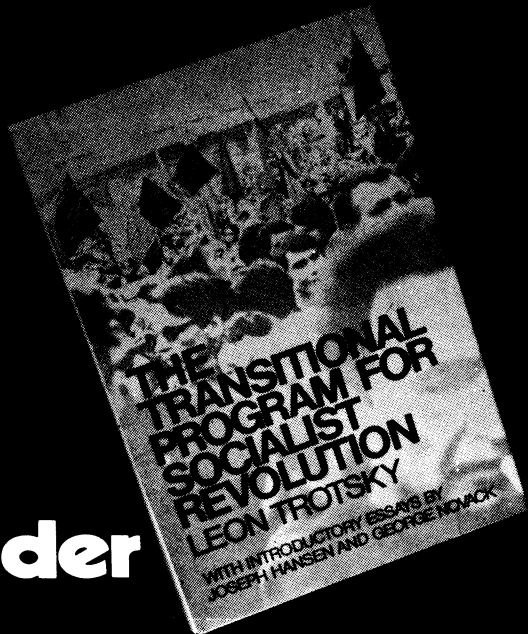
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THE MILITANT

Husband of slain SLAer explains

'Why I chose Marxism and rejected road of terrorism'

By BARRY SHEPPARD

BLOOMINGTON, Ind. — Gary Atwood, whose wife, Angela, was among the six people murdered in the brutal FBI-police attack on the hideout of suspected members of the Symbionese Liberation Army (SLA) in Los Angeles, is currently a student at Indiana University here. He is a member of the Bloomington Young Socialist Alliance.

I had the opportunity to discuss the evolution of his own and his wife's political ideas in an interview on May 25. Gary also knew Bill and Emily Harris, two other alleged members of the SLA, who are now being sought by the police.

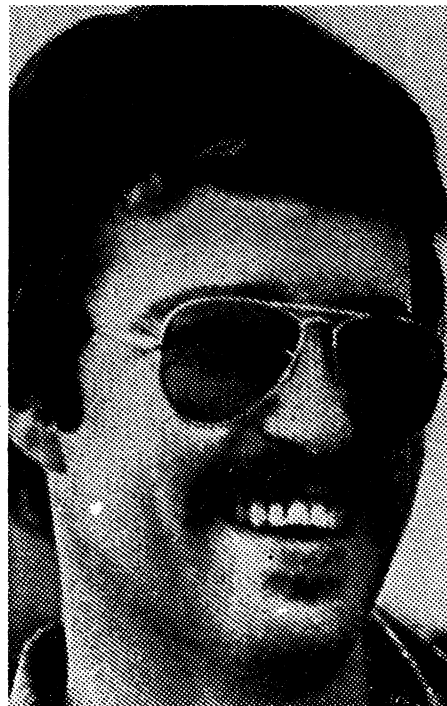
The FBI has engaged in a sustained campaign of harassment against Gary for the past three months. Their aim is to intimidate him and to discredit the YSA, despite the well-known fact that the YSA is opposed to the tactics of individual terror imputed to the SLA.

Parts of Gary's school records have been released to the press. The FBI even went so far as to call Gary's father at his place of work, a crude attempt to have his father fired.

Activists at Indiana U.

Gary Atwood and Angela De Angelis were students at Indiana University in 1969 when Gary first met Bill Harris. Harris had been a soldier in Vietnam, and when he returned, convinced that the war was wrong, he joined the Vietnam Veterans Against the War.

"When I met Bill in 1969, he was a member of the VVAW on campus," Gary explained. "Our first political



Alleged SLA members (left to right) Angela Atwood, killed by Los Angeles cops; Bill and Emily Harris, now pursued by police

conversations were concerning his experiences that summer in the demonstrations at the Democratic Party convention in Chicago.

"I knew Emily only slightly. She lived in Chicago and would come down to visit Bill. I understood she was involved in a women's liberation group there."

At about that time, Gary met Angela, who was taking a course in the theater department along with Bill. "Angela was not politically involved in the least," Gary said. "But she would listen to the conversations that Bill and

I would have about the war.

"When the Cambodia invasion occurred in May 1970, and the Kent State students were murdered, we participated in the demonstrations. We started reading *Ramparts* magazine. Bill became interested in the Black Panther Party, and in addition to the war, our conversations included discussions of the Panthers' 10-point program, the trial of Panther leader Huey Newton, and the police murder of Bobby Hutton.

"Angela began to take a stand on her own on these questions. She was

working as a student-teacher at Ben Davis High School in Indianapolis. She discussed with her class the ideas of the Black Panthers, and was reprimanded by the school authorities.

After the Kent State murders, she wore a black armband to class and was asked to remove it. This led finally to Angela's writing a letter to the principal and other school authorities, denouncing them."

Bill Harris was involved in supporting a professor at IU who was fired for his radical views. Bill and

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Denounce slaughter of SLA members



Burning house in which six SLAers were trapped by murderous police assault

The following is slightly abridged from a statement released to the press on May 28 by Gary Atwood.

Since the massive assault by the local and federal law enforcement agencies in Los Angeles on May 17, resulting in the death of my wife, Angela, and five other suspected members of the so-called Symbionese Liberation Army, I have been content to remain silent until my personal grief subsided to the extent that an objective comment could be made regarding the events of that tragic day.

I have chosen to comment now.

I am appalled — but not surprised — by the slaughterous action of the police. The concerted efforts by the authorities in apprehending what the Justice Department insisted on calling "common criminals" should vehemently call into question and spur demands for a detailed inquiry into the grounds on which their actions occurred.

The total disregard for the safety of the endangered surrounding residents, and the vicious, merciless rage in which they deliberately carried out a

frontal attack against the bungalow that housed the SLA suspects, expose all too clearly the contempt of the police and the FBI for both the people in the house and the residents in the Black community.

The massive firepower mobilized demonstrated the malicious and calculated policy of "overkill," specifically designed to admit no alternatives. The fact that the police prevented the fire department, waiting in the streets, from extinguishing the blaze when the flames first broke out, all too painfully suggests that those inside the house on that day were to be destroyed.

I make this personal condemnation in part to focus public opinion on the possible fate that may similarly await the Harrises and Patricia Hearst and other victims who might so unluckily be caught in a police free-fire zone.

The police immediately went to the Hearst mansion to tell them Patricia Hearst was not among the victims, but to this day, I have yet to be officially notified of my wife's death.

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